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TRAVELS

IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE,

BY

FRANCIS BERNIER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

IRVING BROCK.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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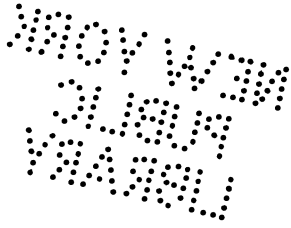

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TRAVELS

IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

A LETTER TO MR. CHAPELAIN ON THE SUPERSTITIONS AND ON THE SINGULAR CUSTOMS AND OPINIONS OF THE HINDOOS OR PAGANS OF HINDOSTAN.

SIR, Schiraz, in Persia, 10 June, 1668.

I HAVE witnessed two solar eclipses which it is scarcely possible I should ever forget. The one I saw from France in the year 1654; the other from Delhi in India in 1666. The sight of the first eclipse was impressed upon my mind by the childish credulity of the French people, and by their groundless and unreasonable alarm; an alarm so excessive, that some bought drugs as charms to defend themselves against the eclipse; some kept themselves closely shut up, and excluded all light, either in carefully-barred apartments or in cellars; while thousands flocked to their respective churches: some apprehending and dreading a malign and dangerous influence:

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others believing that the last day was at hand and that the eclipse was about to shake the foundations of the world. Such were the absurd notions entertained by our countrymen, notwithstanding the writings of Gassendi, Roberval and other celebrated astronomers and philosophers, which clearly demonstrated that the eclipse was only similar to many others which had been productive of no mischief; that this obscuration of the sun was known and predicted, and was without any other peculiarity than what might be found in the reveries of ignorant or designing astrologers.

The eclipse of 1666 is also indelibly imprinted on my memory by the ridiculous errors and strange superstitions of the Indians. At the time fixed for its appearance I took my station on the terrace of my house, situated on the banks of the Jumna; when I saw both shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with pagans or idolaters, who stood in the water up to the waist, their eyes rivetted to the skies, watching the commencement of the eclipse, in order to plunge and wash themselves at the very instant. The little boys and girls were quite naked; the men had nothing but a scarf round their middle and the married women and girls of six or seven years of age were covered with a single cloth. Persons of rank or wealth, such as rajahs (pagan sovereign princes, and generally courtiers in the service and pay of the king) errafs or money-changers, bankers, jewellers and

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other rich merchants crossed from the opposite side of the river with their families, and pitching their tents, fixed kanates or screens in the water within which they and their wives washed and performed the usual ceremonies without any exposure. No sooner did these idolaters perceive that the obscuration of the sun was begun, than they all raised a loud cry, and plunged the whole body under water several times in quick succession; after which they stood in the river, lifted their eyes and hands toward the sun, muttered and prayed with seeming devotion, filling their hands from time to time with water, which they threw in the direction of the sun; bowing their heads very low and moving and turning their arms and hands, sometimes one way, sometimes another. The deluded people continued to plunge, mutter, pray, and perform their silly tricks until the end of the eclipse. On retiring, they threw pieces of silver at a great distance into the Jumna and gave alms to the brahmins, who failed not to be present at this absurd ceremony. I remarked that every individual, on coming out of the water, put on new clothes placed on the sand for that purpose, and that several of the most devout left their old garments as presents for the brahmins.

In this manner did I observe from my terrace the solemnization of the grand eclipse-festival, a festival which was kept with the same external observances in the Indus, in the Ganges, and in the

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other rivers of Hindostan; it was celebrated even in all the talabs or reservoirs of water; and it is calculated that the Tannesar contained on that occasion more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons, assembled from all parts of the empire; the waters of that stream being considered on the day of an eclipse more holy and meritorious than those of any other river.

The Great Mogul, though a muselman, permits these ancient and superstitious practices; not wishing, or not daring, to disturb the pagans in the free exercises of their religion. But the ceremony I have described is not performed until a certain number of brahmins, as deputies from their nation, have presented the king with a lack of rupees, equal to about fifty thousand crowns; in return for which he begs their acceptance only of a few vests and an old elephant.

I shall now mention the wise and convincing reasons assigned for the festival of the eclipse, and for the rites with which it is attended.

We have, say the Hindoos, our four beids; that is, our four books of law, sacred and divine writings given unto us by God himself, through the medium of Brumhà. These books teach that a certain deutâh, an incarnate demon extremely malignant and mischievous, very dark, very black, very impure and very filthy, (these are their own expressions) takes possession of the sun, which it blackens to the colour of ink, infects and obscures; that the sun, which is also a deutâh, but of the

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most beneficent and perfect kind, is thrown into a state of the greatest uneasiness, and suffers a most cruel agony, while in the power of and infected by this wicked and black being; that an endeavour to rescue the sun from so miserable a condition becomes the duty of every person; that this important object can be attained only by means of prayers, ablutions and alms; that those actions have an extraordinary merit during the festival of the eclipse, the alms then bestowed being an hundred times more valuable than alms given at any other time; and who is he, they ask, that would refuse to make a profit of cent per cent?

These, sir, were the eclipses which I told you I could not easily forget, and they naturally lead me to speak of other wild extravagancies of the unhappy heathens, from which I shall leave you to draw whatever conclusions you please.

In the town of Juggernaut, situated in the Gulf of Bengal, and containing the famous temple of the idol of that name, a certain annual festival is holden, which continues, if my memory fail not, for the space of eight or nine days. At this festival is collected an incredible concourse of people, as was the case anciently at the temple of Hammon, and as happens at present in the city of Mecca. The number, I am told, sometimes exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. A superb wooden machine is constructed, such as I have seen in several other parts of India, with I know not how

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many grotesque figures, nearly resembling our monsters which we see depicted with two heads, beings half man and half beast, gigantic and horrible heads, satyrs, apes and devils. This machine is set on fourteen or sixteen wheels like those of a gun-carriage, and drawn or pushed along by the united exertions of fifty or sixty persons. The idol, Juggernaut, placed conspicuously in the middle, richly attired and gorgeously adorned, is thus conveyed from one temple to another.

The first day on which this idol is formally exhibited in the temple, the crowd is so immense, and the press so violent that some of the pilgrims, fatigued and worn out in consequence of their long journey, are squeezed to death: the surrounding throng give them a thousand benedictions, and consider them highly favoured to die on such a holy occasion after travelling so great a distance. And while the chariot of hellish triumph pursues its solemn march, persons are found (it is no fiction which I recount) so blindly credulous and so full of wild notions, as to throw themselves upon the ground in the way of its ponderous wheels, which pass over and crush to atoms the bodies of the wretched fanatics, without exciting the horror or suprise of the spectators. No deed, according to their estimation, is so heroic or meritorious as this self devotion: the victims believe that Juggernaut will receive them as children, and recal them to life in a state of happiness and dignity.

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The brahmins encourage and promote these gross errors and superstitions to which they are indebted for their wealth and consequence. As persons attached and consecrated to important mysteries, they are held in general veneration, and enriched by the alms of the people. So wicked and detestable are their tricks and impostures, that I required the full and clear evidence of them which I obtained, ere I could believe that they had recourse to similar expedients. The brahmins select a beautiful maiden for the bride of Juggernaut, who accompanies the god to the temple with all the pomp and ceremony which I have noticed, where she remains the whole night, having been made to believe that Juggernaut will come and lie with her. She is commanded to enquire of the god if the year will be fruitful, and what may be the processions, the festivals, the prayers and the alms which he requires in return for his bounty. In the night one of the brahmins enters the temple through a small back door, enjoys the unsuspecting damsel, makes her believe whatever may be deemed necessary, and the following morning when on her way to another temple, whither she is carried with the usual forms and magnificence, she is desired by the brahmins to state aloud to the people all she has heard from the lustful priest, as if every word had proceeded from the mouth of Juggernaut. But let me relate follies of another kind.

In front of the chariot, and even in the tem-

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ples, public women during festival days dance and throw their bodies into a variety of indecent and preposterous attitudes, which the brahmins deem quite consistent with the religion of the country. I have known females celebrated for beauty, and who were remarkably reserved in their general deportment, refuse valuable presents from muhammedans, Christians, and pagan foreigners, because they considered themselves dedicated to the ministry and to the ministers of the deura, to the brahmins, and to those fakirs who are commonly seated upon ashes all round the temple, some quite naked with hideous hair, such as we may suppose belonged to Megæra, and in postures which I shall soon describe.*

What has been said concerning women burning themselves will be confirmed by so many travellers, that I suppose people will cease to be sceptical upon this melancholy fact. The accounts given of it have been certainly exaggerated, and the number of victims is less now than formerly; the muhammedans, by whom the country is governed, doing all in their power to suppress the barbarous custom. They do not, indeed, forbid it by a positive law, because it is a part of their policy to leave the idolatrous population which is so much more numerous than their own in the free exercise of its religion: but the practice is checked by indirect means. No woman can sacrifice

* See note H at the end of the volume.

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herself without permission from the governor of the province in which she resides, and he never grants it until he shall have ascertained that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose; to accomplish this desirable end the governor reasons with the widow and makes her enticing promises; after which, if these methods fail, he sometimes sends her among his women, that the effect of their remonstrances may be tried. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the number of self immolations is still very considerable, particularly in the territories of rajahs, where no muhammedan governors are appointed. But not to tire you with the history of every woman whom I have seen perish on the funeral pile, I shall advert to only two or three of those shocking spectacles at which I have been present; and first I shall give you some details concerning a female to whom I was sent for the purpose of diverting her from persevering in her dreadful intention.

One of my friends, named Bendidas, Danechmend-khan's principal clerk, died of a hectick fever for which I had attended him upwards of two years, and his wife immediately resolved to burn herself with the body of her husband. Her friends were in the service of my aga, and being commanded by him to dissuade the widow from the commission of so frantic an act, they represented to her that although she had adopted a generous and commendable resolution which would redound to the honour and conduce to the hap-

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piness of the family, yet she ought to consider that her children were of a tender age, that it would be cruel to abandon them, and that her anxiety for their welfare ought to exceed the affection she bore to the memory of her deceased husband. The infatuated creature attended not, however, to their reasoning, and I was requested to visit the widow as if by my aga's desire, and in quality of an old friend of the family. I complied, and found on entering the apartment a cluster of seven or eight old hags, and another of four or five aged and harebrained brahmins standing round the body, all of whom gave by turns a horrid yell, and beat their hands with violence. The widow was seated at the feet of her dead husband; her hair was dishevelled and her visage pale, but her eyes were tearless and sparkling with animation while she cried and screamed aloud like the rest of the company, and beat time with her hands to this horrible concert. The hurly-burly having subsided, I approached the hellish group, and addressed the woman in a gentle tone. "I am come hither," said I, "by desire of Danechmend-khan, to inform you that he will settle a pension of two crowns per month on each of your two sons, provided you do not destroy your life, a life so necessary for their care and education. We have ways and means indeed to prevent your ascending the pile, and to punish those who encourage you in so unreasonable a resolution. All your relations wish you to live

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for the sake of your offspring, and you will not be reputed infamous as are the childless widows who possess not courage to burn themselves with their dead husbands." I repeated these arguments several times without receiving any answer; but, at last, fixing a determined look on me, she said, "Well, if I am prevented from burning myself on the funeral pile, I will dash out my brains against a wall." What a diabolical spirit has taken possession of you! thought I. "Let it be so then," I rejoined, with undissembled anger, "but first take your children, wretched and unnatural mother! cut their throats, and consume them on the same pile; otherwise you will leave them to die of famine, for I shall return immediately to Danechmend-khan and annul their pensions." These words, spoken with a loud and resolute voice, made the desired impression: without uttering a syllable, her head fell suddenly on her knees, and the greater part of the old women and brahmins sneaked toward the door and left the room. I thought I might now safely leave the widow in the hands of her friends who had accompanied me, and mounting my horse returned home. In the evening, when on my way to Danechmend-khan, to inform him of what I had done, I met one of the relations who thanked me, and said that the body had been burnt without the widow, who had promised not to die by her own hands.

In regard to the women who actually burn

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themselves, I was present at so many of those shocking exhibitions, that I could not persuade myself to attend any more, nor is it without a feeling of horror that I revert to the subject. I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to describe what passed before my eyes; but I cannot hope to give you an adequate conception of the fortitude displayed by these infatuated victims during the whole of the frightful tragedy: it must be seen to be believed.

When travelling from Ahmedabad to Agra, through the territories of rajahs, and while the caravan halted in a town under the shade until the cool of the evening, news reached us that a widow was then on the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I ran at once to the spot, and going to the edge of a large and nearly dry reservoir, observed at the bottom a deep pit filled with wood; the body of a dead man extended thereon; a woman seated upon the same pile; four or five brahmins setting fire to it in every part: five middle-aged women, tolerably well dressed, holding one another by the hand, singing and dancing round the pit; and a great number of spectators of both sexes.

The pile, whereon large quantities of butter and oil had been thrown, was soon enveloped in flames, and I saw the fire catch the woman's garments, which were impregnated with scented oil, mixed with sandarach and saffron powder; but I could not perceive the slightest indication of

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pain or even uneasiness in the victim, and it was said that she pronounced with emphasis the words *five, two*; to signify that this being the fifth time she had burned herself with the same husband, there were wanted only two more similar sacrifices to render her perfect, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls: as if a certain reminiscence, or prophetic spirit, had been imparted to her at that moment of her dissolution.

But this was only the commencement of the infernal tragedy. I thought that the singing and dancing of the five women were nothing more than some unmeaning ceremony; great therefore was my astonishment when I saw that the flames having ignited the clothes of one of these females, she cast herself head-foremost into the pit. The horrid example was followed by another woman, as soon as the flames caught her person: the three women, who remained, then took hold of each other by the hand, resuming the dance with perfect composure; and after a short lapse of time, they also precipitated themselves, one after the other, into the fire.

I soon learnt the meaning of these multiplied sacrifices. The five women were slaves, and having witnessed the deep affliction of their mistress in consequence of the illness of her husband, whom she promised not to survive, they were so moved with compassion that they entered into an engagement to perish by the same flames that consumed their beloved mistress.

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Many persons, whom I then consulted on the subject, would fain have persuaded me, that an excess of affection was the cause why Hindoo women burn themselves with their deceased husbands; but I soon found that this abominable practice is the effect of early and deeply rooted prejudices. Every girl is taught by her mother that it is virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband, and that no woman of honor will refuse compliance with the established custom. These opinions men have always inculcated as an easy mode of keeping wives in subjection, of securing their attention in times of sickness, and of deterring them from administering poison to their husbands.

But let us proceed to another of these dreadful scenes, not witnessed indeed by myself, but selected in preference to others at which I happened to be present, on account of the remarkable incident by which it was distinguished. I have seen so many things which I should have pronounced incredible, that neither you nor I ought to reject the narrative in question merely because it contains something extraordinary. The story is in every person's mouth in India, and is universally credited. Perhaps it has already reached you in Europe.

A woman, long engaged in love intrigues with a young muselman, her neighbour, by trade a tailor and a player on the tambourine, poisoned her husband. She then hastened to her lover, in-

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formed him of what she had done, and claiming the performance of his promise to take her to wife, urged the necessity of immediately flying, as had been previously projected, from the scene of their guilt; "for," added she, "if there be the least delay, I shall be constrained, by a common sense of decency, to burn myself with the body of my dead spouse." The young man, who foresaw that such a scheme would involve him in difficulty and danger, peremptorily refused; and the woman, without betraying the smallest emotion, went at the instant to her relations, informed them of the sudden death of her husband, and of her fixed resolution to die on the funeral pile. Pleased with so magnanimous an intention, and with the honour she was about to confer on the family, her friends prepare a pit, fill it with wood, lay the body upon the pile and kindle the fire. These arrangements being completed, the woman makes the round of the pit for the purpose of embracing and bidding a last farewell to her kindred, among whom stood the young muhammedan, invited thither, with other musicians, to play on the tambourine according to the custom of the country. Approaching the lover as if she intended to take a last and tender adieu, the infuriated creature seizes him with a firm grasp by the collar, draws him with irresistible force to the edge of the pit and precipitates herself headlong with the object of her resentment into the midst of the raging fire.

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As I was leaving Surat for Persia, I witnessed the devotion and burning of another widow: several Englishmen and Dutchmen, and Mr. Chardin of Paris, were present. She was of the middle age, and by no means uncomely. I do not expect, with my limited powers of expression, to convey a full idea of the brutish boldness, or ferocious gaiety, depicted on this woman's countenance; of her undaunted step; of the freedom from all perturbation with which she conversed, and permitted herself to be washed; of the look of confidence, or rather of insensibility which she cast upon us; of her easy air, free from dejection; of her lofty carriage, void of embarrassment, when she was examining her little cabin, composed of dry and thick millet straw, with an intermixture of small wood; when she entered into that cabin, sat down upon the funeral pile, placed her deceased husband's head in her lap, took up a torch, and with her own hand lighted the fire within, while I know not how many brahmins were busily engaged in kindling it without:—well indeed may I despair of representing this whole scene with proper and genuine feeling, such as I experienced at the spectacle itself, or of painting it in colours sufficiently vivid. My recollection of it indeed is so vivid, that it seems only a few days since the horrid reality passed before my eyes, and with pain I persuade myself that it was any thing but a frightful dream.

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It is true, however, that I have known some of these unhappy widows shrink at the sight of the piled wood; so as to leave no doubt on my mind that they would willingly have recanted, if recantation had been permitted by the merciless brahmins; but those demons animate or astound the affrighted victims, and even thrust them into the fire. I was present when a poor young woman, who had fallen back five or six paces from the pit, was thus driven forward; and I saw another of these wretched beings, struggling to leave the funeral pile when the fire increased around her person, but she was prevented from escaping by the long poles of the diabolical executioners.

But sometimes the devoted widows elude the vigilance of the murderous priests. I have been often in the company of a fair pagan, who contrived to save her life by means of the scavengers or nightmen* who assemble on these occasions in considerable numbers, when they learn that the intended victim is young and handsome, that her relations are of little note, and that she is to be accompanied by only a few of her acquaintance. Yet the woman whose courage fails at the sight of the horrid apparatus of death and who avails herself of the presence of these men to avoid the impending sacrifice, cannot hope to pass her days in happiness, or to be treated with

* These men are holden in great contempt all over India.

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respect or affection. Never again can she live with Hindoos: no individual of that nation will at any time, or under any circumstances, associate with a creature so degraded, who is accounted utterly infamous, and execrated because of the dishonour which her conduct has brought upon the religion of the country. Consequently she is ever afterwards exposed to the ill-treatment of her low and vulgar protectors. There is no mogul who does not dread the consequences of contributing to the preservation of a woman devoted to the burning pile, or who will venture to afford an asylum to one who escapes from the fangs of the brahmins; but many widows have been rescued by the Portuguese, in sea ports where that people happened to be in superior strength. I need scarcely say how much my own indignation has been excited, and how ardently I have wished for opportunities to exterminate those cursed brahmins.

At Lahore I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than twelve years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit: the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the brahmins, assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet, lest she should run away, and in

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that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings and to prevent their bursting forth into clamourous and unavailing rage; but restrained by prudential considerations, I contented myself with silently lamenting the abominable superstition of these people, and applied to it the language of the poet, when speaking of Iphigenia, whom her father Agamemnon had offered in sacrifice to Diana.

Sæpius olim
Relligio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta,
Aulide quo pacto triviaï Virginis aram
Iphianassaï turpârunt sanguine fœdè
Ductores Danaum ———
—— tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum!

I have not yet mentioned all the barbarity and atrocity of these monsters. In some parts of India instead of burning the women who determine not to survive their husbands, the brahmins bury them alive, by slow degrees, up to the throat; then two or three of them fall suddenly upon the victim, wring her neck, and when she has been effectually and completely choked, cover over the body with earth thrown upon it from successive baskets, and tread upon the head.*

* The female sacrifice in India is two-fold. There is the immolation of women on the death of their husbands; and there is the murder of female children.

Among the Hindoo tribes called the Jarejah, in the provinces of Cutch and Guzerat in the west of India it is a custom to destroy female infants, and the mother herself is commonly the executioner of her own offspring. Doctor

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Most of the pagans burn their dead; but some partially broil the bodies with stubble, near the side of a river, and then precipitate them into the water from a high and steep bank. I have attended these funeral rites on the Ganges several times, and observed flights of crows fluttering about the carcase, which becomes as much the prey of those birds as of the fish and crocodiles.

Some again carry a sick person, when at the point of death, to the river side; place his feet in the water, let him sink gradually to the neck; and when it is supposed that he is about to expire, they immerse his whole body into the river,

Buchanan informs us that this atrocity was investigated by the exertions of Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay. That gentleman instructed Colonel Walker, late political resident in Guzerat, to inform himself of the extent of the practice of infanticide. The Bombay government transmitted to the court of directors the official report from that officer, dated the 15th March, 1808; and from this document the horrid fact was given to the public, that the number of females who were sacrificed in Cutch and Guzerat alone (for the custom prevails in several other provinces) amounted, by the very lowest computation (in 1807) to three thousand annually, other calculations vastly exceed that number. Colonel Walker had first the honour of appearing before this people as the advocate of humanity; and, as ambassador from the British nation, he entreated them to suffer their daughters to live; but they peremptorily refused even to listen to this *moral* negociation. But Col. Walker, observes Dr. Buchanan, did not desist from his benevolent purpose, and the several chiefs bound themselves by a solemn engagement, in 1808, to discontinue the practice of infanticide.—*Translator.*

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where they leave him, after violently clapping their hands, and crying out with great vehemence. The object of this ceremony (at which I have been present) is that the soul may be washed, on taking its flight, from all the impurities which it may have contracted during its abode in the body. This absurd notion is not confined to the vulgar; I have heard it seriously defended by men of the highest reputation for learning.

Among the vast number, and endless variety of fakirs, or dervises, and pagan religionists of India, many have convents, governed by superiors, where vows of chastity, poverty and submission are made. So strange is the life led by these votaries that I doubt whether my description of it will be credited. I allude particularly to the people called Jauguis, a name which signifies united to God. Numbers are seen, day and night, seated or lying on ashes, entirely naked; frequently under the large trees near talabs, or reservoirs of water, or in the galleries round the deuras, or idol temples. Some have hair hanging down to the calf of the leg, twisted and entangled into knots, like the coat of our shaggy dogs, especially those afflicted with the Polish disease called plica Polonica. I have seen several who hold one, and some who hold both arms, perpetually lifted up above the head; the nails of their hands being twisted, and longer than half my little finger, with which I measured them. Their arms are as small and thin as the arms

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of persons who die in a decline, because in so forced and unnatural a position, they receive not sufficient nourishment; nor can they be lowered so as to supply the mouth with food, the muscles having become contracted, and the articulations dry and stiff. Novices wait upon these fanatics and pay them the utmost respect, as persons endowed with extraordinary sanctity. No fury in the infernal regions can be conceived more horrible than the jauguis, with their naked and black skin, long hair, spindle arms, long twisted nails, and fixed in the posture which I have mentioned.

I have often met, generally on the territory of some rajah, bands of these naked fakirs, hideous to behold. Some had their arms lifted up in the manner just described; the frightful hair of others either hung loosely, or was tied and twisted round their heads; some carried an Herculean club; others had a dry and rough tiger skin thrown over their shoulders. In this trim I have seen them shamelessly walk, stark naked, through a large town, men, women and girls looking at them without any more emotion than may be created when a hermit passes through our streets. Females would often bring them alms with much devotion, doubtless believing that they were holy personages, more chaste and discreet than other men.*

*These idle and pretended devotees (the fakirs) assemble sometimes in armies of ten or twelve thousand, and under

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I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated fakir, named Sarmet, who paraded the

a pretext of making pilgrimages to certain temples, lay whole countries under contribution. These saints wear no clothes, are generally very robust, and convert the wives of of the less holy part of mankind to their own use, in their religious progresses. They admit any man of parts into their number, and to make the order the more revered among the vulgar, they take great care to instruct their disciples in every branch of knowledge.

When this naked army of robust saints direct their march to any temple, the men of the provinces through which their road lies, very often fly before them, notwithstanding the sanctified character of the fakirs: but the women are in general more resolute, and not only remain in their dwellings, but apply frequently for the prayers of those holy persons which are found to be most effectual in cases of sterility. When a fakir is at prayers with the lady of the house, he leaves either his slipper or his staff at the door, which, if seen by the husband, effectually prevents him from disturbing their devotion.

Though the fakirs inforce with their arms, that reverence which the people of Hindostan have naturally for their order, to gain more respect, they inflict upon themselves, voluntary penances of very extraordinary kinds. These fellows sometimes hold up one arm in a fixed position till it becomes stiff, and remains in that situation during the rest of their lives. Some clench their fists very hard, and keep them so till their nails grow into their palms, and appear through the back of their hands. Others turn their faces over one shoulder and keep them in that situation, till they fix for ever their heads looking backward. Many turn their eyes to the point of their nose, till they have lost the power of looking in any other direction. These last pretend sometimes to see what they call the sacred fire, which vision, no doubt, pro-

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streets of Delhi as naked as when he came into the world. He despised equally the promises and the threats of Aureng-Zêbe, and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel.

Several of these fakirs undertake long pilgrimages, not only naked, but laden with heavy iron chains, such as are put about the legs of elephants. I have seen others who in consequence of a particular vow, stood upright, during seven or eight days, without once sitting or lying down, and without any other support than might be afforded by leaning forward against a cord for a few hours in the night; their legs in the mean time, were swollen to the size of their thighs. Others again I have observed standing steadily, whole hours together, upon their hands, the head down and the feet in the air. I might proceed to enumerate various other positious in which these unhappy men place their body, many of them so difficult and painful that they could not be

ceeds from some disorder arising from the distortion of the optic nerves.

It often appears to Europeans in India a matter of some ridicule to converse with those distorted and naked philosophers; though their knowledge and their external appearance exhibit a very striking contrast. Some are really what they they seem, enthusiasts; but others put on the character of sanctity, as a cloke for their pleasures. But what actually makes them a public nuisance, and the aversion of poor husbands is, that the women think they derive some holiness to to themselves, from an intimacy with a fakir.—*Dow.*

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imitated by our tumblers; and all this, let it be recollected, is performed from an assumed feeling of piety, of which there is not so much as the shadow in any part of India.

I confess that this gross superstition filled me, on my first arrival in Hindostan, with amazement. I knew not what to think of it. Sometimes I should have been disposed to consider the fakirs as remnants, if not as the founders, of the ancient and infamous sect of cynics, could I have discovered any thing in them but brutality and ignorance, and if they had not appeared to me vegetative rather than rational beings. At another time, I thought they might be honest though deluded enthusiasts, until I found that, in fact, they were in the most extensive sense of the word, destitute of piety. Again, I reflected that a life of vagrancy, idleness and independence, may have a powerful and attractive charm; or that the vanity which intermingles itself with every motive of human action, and which may be discovered as clearly through the tattered mantle of a Diogenes as under the comely garb of a Plato, was probably the secret spring that set so many strange engines in motion.

The fakirs, it is said, exercise painful austerities in the confident hope that they will be rajahs in their renascent state; or, if they do not become rajahs, that they shall be placed in a condition of life capable of more exquisite enjoyment than is experienced by those sovereign

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princes: but, as I have frequently observed to them, how can it be believed that men submit to a life of so much misery for the sake of a second state of existence, as short and uncertain as the first, and which cannot be expected to yield a much greater degree of happiness even to him who may be invested with the high dignity of rana, or who may resemble Joy-Singh or Jesswint-Singh, the two most powerful rajahs of India? I am not to be so easily deceived, said I to them; either you are egregious fools, or you are actuated by some sinister views which you carefully hide from the world.

Some of the fakirs enjoy the reputation of being peculiarly enlightened saints, perfect jauguis, and really united to God. These are supposed to have entirely renounced the world, and like our hermits they live a secluded life in a remote garden, without ever visiting a town. When food is brought to them, they receive it: if none be offered to them it is concluded that the holy men can live without food, that they subsist by the favour of God, vouchsafed on account of previous long fasts and other religious mortifications. Frequently these pious jauguis are absorbed in profound meditation. It is pretended, and one of the favoured saints himself assured me, that their souls are often rapt in an extasy of several hours duration; that their external senses lose their functions; that the jauguis are blessed with a sight of God, who appears as a

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light ineffably white and vivid, and that they experience transports of holy joy, and a contempt of temporal concerns which defy every power of description. My saintly informant added, that he could at pleasure fall into such a trance as he described, and not one of the individuals who are in the habit of visiting the jauguis doubts the reality of these vaunted extasies. It is possible that the imagination, distempered by continued fasts and uninterrupted solitude, may be brought into these illusions, or that the rapturous dreams of the fakirs may resemble the natural extasies into which Cardan tells us he could fall whenever he pleased, especially as the fakirs practise some art in what they do, prescribing to themselves certain rules for the binding up of their senses by slow degrees. For example, they say that after having fasted several days upon bread and water, it is necessary to be alone in a sequestered spot, to fix the eyes most steadily toward heaven, and when they have been so rivetted for some time, to lower them gradually, and then point them both in such a manner that they shall look at one and the same time upon the tip of the nose, both sides of that feature being equally seen; and in this posture the saint must continue firm, the two sides of the nose in even proportions remaining constantly within sight until the bright luminary makes its appearance.

The trance and the means of enjoying it form the grand mystery of the jauguis, as well as of

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the soofies. I call it mystery, because they keep these things secret among themselves, and I should not have made so many discoveries had it not been for the aid of the pundit or Hindoo doctor whom Danechmend-khan kept in his pay, and who dared not conceal any thing from his patron; my aga, moreover, was already acquainted with the doctrines of the soofies.

I believe that extreme poverty, long fasts and perpetual austerities contribute something to the counterfeit appearances of these fanatics. Our friars and hermits must not suppose that on these points they surpass the jauguis or other Asiatic religionists. I can, for instances, appeal to the lives and fasts of the Armenians, Copts, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites and Maronites; compared to these people, our European devotees are mere novices, though it must be confessed from what I have myself experienced in India, that the pains of hunger are not so sensibly felt there as in our colder climates.

I have now to give an account of certain fakirs totally different from the saints just described, but who also are extraordinary personages. They almost continually perambulate the country, make light of every thing, affect to live without care, and to be possessed of most important secrets. The people imagine that these favoured beings are well acquainted with the art of making gold, and that they can prepare mercury in so admirable a manner that a grain or two swallowed every

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morning must restore a diseased body to vigorous health, and so strengthen the stomach that it may feed with avidity and digest with ease. This is not all: when two of these good jauguis meet, and can be excited to a spirit of emulation, they make such a display of the power of jauguisism, that it may well be doubted if Simon Magus, with all his sorceries, ever performed more surprising feats. They tell any person his thoughts, cause the branch of a tree to blossom and to bear fruit within an hour, hatch an egg in their bosom in less than fifteen minutes, producing whatever bird may be demanded, and make it fly about the room; and execute many other prodigies that need not be enumerated.

I regret that I cannot bear my testimony to the truth of all that people report of these conjurers. My aga sent for one of them, and promised to give him three hundred rupees (about an hundred and fifty crowns) if on the following day he would tell him, as he said he could do, what might then be passing in his mind, which he would previously write down in his presence to prevent any suspicion of unfair dealing on his own part. I engaged, at the same time, to present him with five and twenty rupees, if he mentioned my thoughts; but the prophet did not again approach our house. On another occasion I was also disappointed in my expectation of the company of one of these egg-hatchers, to whom I had promised twenty rupees. Notwithstanding my

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diligence to pry into every thing, I have never been so happy as to witness any marvellous performance, and whenever I happened to be present when a deed was done which excited the surprise of the spectators, it was generally my misfortune to examine and to question until I ascertained that the cause lay in some cheat or slight of hand. I recollect detecting the gross deception of a fellow who pretended to find out by the rolling of a cup the person who had stolen my aga's money.

But there are fakirs of a much more comely appearance than those whom we have been considering, and their lives and devotion seem less extravagant. They walk the streets barefooted and bareheaded, girt with a scarf which hangs down to the knee, and wearing a white cloth which passes under the right arm and goes over the left shoulder in the form of a mantle, but they are without any under garment: their persons however are always well washed, and they appear cleanly in every respect. In general they walk two and two with a very modest demeanour, holding in one hand a small and pretty earthen tripod with two handles: they do not beg from shop to shop like many other fakirs, but enter freely into the houses of Hindoos, where they meet with a hearty welcome and an hospitable reception, their presence being esteemed a blessing to the family. Heaven defend him who accuses them of any offence, although every body knows what takes place between the sanctified

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visiters and the women of the house: this, however, is considered the custom of the country, and their sanctity is not the less on that account. I do not indeed attach much importance to their transactions with the females of the house: such practices we know are not confined to the Great Mogul's domnions; but what appears truly ridiculous is their impertinent comparison of themselves with our own clergy in India. I have sometimes derived much amusement from their weakness and vanity: I used to address them with great ceremony, and apparently with the most profound respect, after which they immediately observed to one another: "the franguy knows who we are; he has resided many years in India, and is well aware that we are the padrys of the Hindoos." But I dwell too long upon these heathen beggars, and shall proceed to notice the books of law and science.

Do not be surprised if, notwithstanding my ignorance of Shanscrit (the language of the learned, and possibly that of the ancient brahmins,) I yet say something of books written in that tongue. My aga, Danechmend-khan, partly from my solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity, took into his service one of the most celebrated pundits of India, who had formerly belonged to the household of Dara, Shah-Jehan's eldest son; and not only was this man my constant companion during a period of three years, but he also introduced me to the society of other learned

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pundits, whom he attracted to the house. When weary of explaining to my aga the recent discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, and of discoursing on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which I translated to him in Persian (for this was my priucipal employment for five or six years) we had generally recourse to our pundit, who, in his turn, was called upon to reason in his own manner, and to communicate his fables; these he related with all imaginable gravity without ever smiling; but at length we became disgusted both with his tales and childish arguments.

The Hindoos then pretend that God, whom they call Achar, The Immoveable or Immutable, has sent to them four books, to which they give the name of beids, a word signifying science, because according to them, these books comprehend all the sciences. The first of the books is named Ahtrebun beid; the second, Huchur beid; the third, Rug beid; and the fourth, Sam beid. These books enjoin that the people shall be distinguished or divided, as in fact they are, into four tribes: first, the tribe of brahmins, or interpreters of the law; secondly, the tribe of chehteree, or warriors; thirdly, the tribe of bice, or merchants and tradesmen, commonly called banians; and fourthly, the tribe of sooder, or artisans and labourers. These different tribes are not permitted to intermarry; that is to say, a brahmin is forbidden to marry a chehteree; and the same injunction holds good in regard to the other tribes.

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The Hindoos believe in the transmigration of souls, and hold it illegal to kill or eat any animal; an exception being made, however, in favour of a few of the second tribe, provided the flesh eaten be not that of the cow or peacock. For these two animals they feel a peculiar respect, particularly for the cow, imagining that it is by holding to a cow's tail they are to cross the river which separates this life from the next. Possibly their ancient legislators saw the shepherds of Egypt in a similar manner pass the river Nile, holding with the left hand the tail of a buffalo or ox, and carrying in the right a stick for the guidance of the animal; or this superior regard for the cow may more probably be owing to her extraordinary usefulness, as being the animal which supplies them with milk and butter (a considerable part of their aliment) and which may be considered the source of husbandry, consequently the preserver of life itself. It ought likewise to be observed, that owing to the great deficiency of pasture land in India it is impossible to maintain large numbers of cattle; the whole therefore would soon disappear if animal food were eaten in any thing like the proportion in which it is consumed in France and England, and the country would thus remain uncultivated. The heat is so intense, and the ground so parched, during eight months of the year, that the beasts of the field, ready to die of hunger, feed on every kind of filth like so many swine. It was on account of the scarcity of cattle that Jehan-Guire

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at the request of the brahmins, issued an edict to forbid the killing of beasts of pasture for a certain number of years; and not long since they presented a similar petition to Aureng-Zêbe, offering to him a considerable sum of money to ensure his compliance. They urged that the neglected and ruinous condition of many tracts of country during the last fifty or sixty years, was attributable to the paucity and dearness of oxen.

Perhaps the first legislators of India hoped that the interdiction of animal food would produce a beneficial effect upon the character of the people, and that they might be brought to exercise less cruelty toward one another when required by a positive precept to treat the brute creation with humanity. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls secured the treatment of animals, by leading to the belief that no animal can be killed or eaten without incurring the danger of killing or eating some ancestor, than which a more heinous crime cannot be committed. It may be also that the brahmins were influenced by the consideration, that in their climate the flesh of cows or oxen is neither savoury nor wholesome except for a short time during winter.

The beids render it obligatory upon every Hindoo to say his prayers with his face turned to the east, thrice in the twenty-four hours; in the morning, at noon and at night. The whole of his body must also be washed three times, or at least before every meal; and he is taught that it is

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more meritorious to perform his ablutions and to repeat his prayers in running than in stagnant water. Here again regard was probably had to what is not only proper but highly important in such a climate as that of Hindostan. This, however, is found an inconvenient law to those who happen to live in cold countries, and I have met in my travels with some who placed their lives in imminent danger by a strict observance of that law, by plunging into the rivers or reservoirs within their reach, or if none were sufficiently near, by throwing large pails of water over their heads. Sometimes I objected to their religion, that it contained a law which it would not be possible to observe in cold climates during the winter season, which was, in my mind, a clear proof that it possessed no divine original, but was merely a system of human invention. Their answer was amusing enough. "We pretend not," they replied, "that our law is of universal application. God intended it only for us, and this is the reason why we cannot receive a foreigner into our religion. We do not even say that yours is a false religion: it may be adapted to your wants and circumstances, God having, no doubt, appointed many different ways of going to heaven." I found it impossible to convince them that the Christian faith was designed for the whole earth, and theirs was mere fable and gross fabrication.

The beids teach that God having determined to create the world, would not execute his pur-

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pose immediately, but first created three perfect beings; one was Burmhà, a name which signifies penetrating into all things; the second, Beschen, that is, existing in all things; and the third, Mehahdeu or the mighty lord. By means of Burmhà he created the world; by means of Beschen he upholds it; and by means of Mehahdeu he will destroy it. It was Burmhà who, by God's command, published the four beids, and for this reason he is represented in some temples with four heads.

I have conversed with European missionaries who thought that the pagans have some idea of the mystery of the Trinity, and maintained that the beids state in direct terms that the three beings, though three persons, are one God. This is a subject on which I have frequently heard the pundits dilate, but they explain themselves so obscurely that I never could clearly comprehend their opinion. I have heard some of them say, that the beings in question are in reality three very perfect creatures, whom they call dewtahs, without being able, however, properly to explain what they mean by this word dewtah, like our ancient idolaters, who could never, in my opinion, explain what they meant by the names genii and numina, which were probably equivalent to the dewtahs of the Indians. I have also discoursed with other pundits distinguished for learning, who said that these three beings are really one and the same God, consi-

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dered under three different characters, as the creator, upholder, and destroyer of all things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only God.

I was acquainted with the reverend father Roa, a German jesuit and missionary at Agra, who had made great proficiency in the Shanscrit. He assured me that the books of the Hindoos not only state that there is one God in three persons, but that the second person has been nine times embodied in flesh. He added that when he was at Schiraz, on his return to Rome, a Carmelite father in that city succeeded, with much address, in ascertaining that the following doctrines are held by the Hindoos. The second person in the Trinity has been, according to them, nine times incarnate in consequence of various evils in the world, from which he delivered mankind. The eighth incarnation was the most remarkable; for the Hindoos say that the world having been inthralled by the power of giants, it was rescued by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the skies raining flowers during that whole night. This in some degree savours of Christianity, but the fable returns again; for it is added that this incarnate god began by killing a giant who flew in the air, and was so huge as to obscure the sun: his fall caused the whole earth to tremble, and by his weight he so penetrated it, that he tumbled at once into hell. The incarnate

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deity, wounded in the side in the conflict with this mighty giant fell also, but by his fall put his enemies to flight. He arose again, and after delivering the world ascended into heaven, and because of his wound, he is generally known by the appellation of wounded in the side. The tenth incarnation, say the Hindoos, without however any warranty from the beids, will have for its object the emancipation of mankind from the tyranny of muhammedans, and it will take place at the time when, according to our calculation, antichrist is to appear.

They say also that the third person of the trinity has manifested himself to the world; the following story is related of him. The daughter of a certain king, when she had reached the age of puberty, was desired by her father to mention the person whom she felt disposed to marry, and having answered that she would be united to none but a divine being, the third person of the trinity appeared in the same instant to the king in the form of fire. He presently apprised his daughter of this happy circumstance, and she without hesitation consented to the marriage. The divine personage, though still assuming a fiery appearance, was invited to the king's council, and finding that the privy counsellors opposed the match, he first set fire to their beards, and then burnt them together with the royal household, after which he married the princess. In regard to the second person, the Hindoos say that his first incarnation

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was in the nature of a lion, the second in that of a hog, the third in that of a tortoise, the fourth in that of a serpent, the fifth in that of a dwarfish female brahmin, only a cubit in height, the sixth was in the form of a monstrous man lion, the seventh in that of a dragon, the eighth as already described, the ninth in the nature of an ape, and the tenth is to be in the person of a mighty warrior.

I entertain no doubt that the reverend father Roa derives from the beids his knowledge of the doctrines held by the Hindoos, and that the account he gave me forms the basis of their mythology. I had written at considerable length upon this subject, sketched the figures of several of the idols placed in their temples, and obtained the Shanscrit characters; but finding that the principal matter of my manuscript is contained in the China Illustrata of Father Kirker, (who obtained much of his information when at Rome from Father Roa,) I deem it sufficient to recommend that book to your perusal. I must observe, however, that the word "incarnation," employed by the reverend father was new to me, having never seen it used in the same direct sense. Some pundits explained their doctrine to me in this manner: formerly God appeared in the forms which are mentioned, and in those forms performed all the wonders which have been related. Other pundits said that the souls of certain great men whom we are wont to call heroes, had passed into the dif-

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ferent bodies spoken of, and that they had become dewtahs; or, to speak in the phraseology of the idolaters of old, they had become powerful divinities, numina, genii, and dæmons; or if you will, spirits and fairies; for I know not now else to render the Indian word dewtah; but this second explanation comes much to the same thing as the first, inasmuch as the Hindoos believe that their souls are constituent parts of the deity.

Other pundits again gave me a more refined interpretation. They said that the incarnations or apparitions mentioned in their books, having a mystic sense, and being intended to explain the various attributes of God, ought not to be understood literally. Some of the most learned of those doctors frankly acknowledged to me that nothing can be conceived more fabulous than all the incarnations, and that they were only the invention of legislators for the sake of retaining the people in some sort of religion. On the supposition that our souls are portions of the deity, a doctrine common to all Hindoos, must not (observed the pundits) the reality of those incarnations instead of being made a mysterious part of religion be exploded by sound philosophy? for, in respect of our souls, we are God, and therefore it would in fact be ourselves who had imposed upon ourselves a religious worship, and a belief in the transmigration of souls in paradise and in hell.

I am not less indebted to Messrs. Henry Lor

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and Abraham Roger, than to the reverend fathers Kirker and Roa. I had collected a vast number of particulars concerning the Hindoos, that I have since found in the books written by those gentlemen, and which I could not have arranged in the order which they have observed without great labour and difficulty. It is not necessary, therefore, that I could do more than touch briefly on the studies and the science of this people; which I shall do in a general and desultory manner.

The town of Benares, seated on the Ganges, in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of the Hindoos. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the brahmins and religionists; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study.* The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work

* See note I at the end of the volume.

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of instruction proceeds very slowly; for the generality of Indians are of an indolent disposition, owing, in a great measure, to their diet and the heat of the country. Feeling no spirit of emulation, and entertaining no hope that honours or emolument may be the reward of extraordinary attainments, the scholars content themselves with the customary and idle mode of pursuing their studies, while eating kichery, a mingled mass of leguminous plants prepared for them by desire of the rich banians.

The first thing taught is the Shanscrit, a language known only to the pundits, and totally different from that which is spoken in Hindostan. It is of the Shanscrit that Father Kirker has published an alphabet, which he received from Father Roa. The name signifies pure language; and because the Hindoos believe that the four sacred books given to them by God, through the medium of Burmhà, were originally published in Shanscrit, they call it *The holy and divine language*. They pretend, but I know not on what authority, that it is as ancient as Burmhà himself, whose age they reckon by lacks, or hundreds of thousands of years. That it is extremely old, it is impossible to deny, the books of their religion, which are of unquestionable antiquity, being all written in Shanscrit. It has also its authors on philosophy, works on medicine written in verse, and many other kinds of books, with which a large hall at Benares is entirely filled.

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When the scholars have acquired a knowledge of this ancient and difficult language, difficult because without a good grammar, they generally study the pooràn, which is an abridgement and interpretation of the beids; those books being of great bulk, at least if they were the beids which were shewn to me at Benares. They are so scarce that my aga, notwithstanding all his diligence, has not succeeded in purchasing a copy. The Hindoos indeed conceal them with much care, lest they should fall into the hands of the muhammedans, and be burnt, as frequently has happened.

After the pooràn, some of the students apply their minds to philosophy, wherein they certainly make very little progress. I have already intimated that the Indians are of a slow and indolent temper, and strangers to the excitement which the possibility of advancement in an honourable profession produces among the members of European universities.

Among the philosophers who have flourished in Hindostan six bear a great name; and from these have sprung the six sects, which cause much jealousy and dispute, the pundits of each pretending that the doctrines of their particular sect are the soundest, and most in conformity to the beids. A seventh sect has arisen, called Bautà, which again is the parent of twelve others; but this sect is not so considerable as the former: its adherents are despised

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and hated, censured as irreligious and atheistical, and lead a life peculiar to themselves.

All the books of the Hindoos speak of first principles; but each in a manner totally different from the others. Some say that every thing is composed of small bodies which are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness, and resistance, but because of their smallness; and upon this notion they build many other hypotheses, which have an affinity to the theories of Democritus and Epicurus; but their opinions are expressed in so loose and indeterminate a manner that it is difficult to ascertain their meaning; and considering the extreme ignorance of the pundits, those even reputed the most learned, it may be fairly doubted whether this vagueness be not rather attributable to the expounders than to the authors of the books.

Others say that every thing is composed of matter and form, but not one of the doctors explains himself clearly about matter, and still less about form. They are so far intelligible, however, as to shew me that they understand neither the one nor the other in the same manner as these terms are usually explained in our schools, where we speak of educing form out of the power of matter; for they always take their examples from artificial things, such as that of a vessel of soft clay, which a potter turns and forms into various shapes.

Some hold that all is composed of the four

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elements and out of nothing; yet they give not the least explanation concerning mixtion and transmutation. And as to nothing, which is nearly tantamount to our privation, they admit I know not how many sorts, which I imagine the pundits neither comprehend themselves, nor can make intelligible to others.

Some maintain that light and darkness are the first principles, and in support of this opinion the doctors make a thousand foolish and confused observations; alleging reasons disowned by true philosophy, and delivering long discourses which would suit the ear only of the vulgar and illiterate.

There are others again, who admit privation as a principle, or rather, the privations which they distinguish from nothing, and of which they make a long enumeration, so useless and unphilosophical that I can scarcely believe their authors would employ the pen about such trifling opinions and that consequently it cannot be contained in their books.

Many, in fine, pretend that every thing is the result of chances, and of these they also have a long, strange, and tedious catalogue, worthy only of an ignorant and low babbler.

In regard to all these principles, it is agreed by the pundits that they are eternal. The production from nothing does not seem to have occurred to their mind, any more than to the mind of many of the ancient philosophers. There is

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one of the sages, however, who, they pretend, has said something on the subject.

On physic the Hindoos have a great number of small books, which are rather collections of recipes than regular treatises. The most ancient and the most esteemed is written in verse. I shall observe, by the way, that their practice differs essentially from ours, and that it is grounded on the following acknowledged principles: a patient with a fever requires no great nourishment; the sovereign remedy for sickness is abstinence; nothing is worse for a sick body than meat broth, for it soon corrupts in the stomach of one afflicted with fever; a patient should be bled only on extraordinary occasions, and where the necessity is most obvious—as when there is reason to apprehend a brain fever, or when an inflammation of the chest, liver, or kidneys, has taken place.

Whether these modes of treatment be judicious, I leave to our learned physicians to decide; I shall only remark that they are successful in Hindostan, and that the mogul and muhammedan physicians, who follow the rules of Avicenna and Averroes, adopt them no less than the Hindoos, especially in regard to abstinence from meat broth. The moguls, it is true, are rather more given to the practice of bleeding than the pagans; for where they apprehended the inflammations just mentioned, they generally bleed once or twice, not in the trifling manner of the modern prac-

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titioners of Goa and Paris, but copiously, like the ancients, taking eighteen or twenty ounces of blood; sometimes even to fainting; thus frequently subduing the disease at the commencement, according to the advice of Galen, and as I have witnessed in several cases.

It is not surprising that the Hindoos understand nothing of anatomy. They never open the body either of man or beast, and the pagans in our household always run away, with amazement and horror, whenever I opened a living goat or sheep for the purpose of explaining to my aga the circulation of the blood, and shewing him the vessels, discovered by Pecquet, through which the chyle is conveyed to the right ventricle of the heart. Yet notwithstanding their profound ignorance of the subject, the Hindoos affirm that the number of veins in the human body is five thousand, neither more nor less; just as if they had carefully reckoned them.

In regard to astronomy, the Hindoos have their tables, according to which they foretell eclipses, not perhaps with the minute exactness of European astronomers, but still with great accuracy. They reason, however in the same ridiculous way on the lunar as on the solar eclipse, believing that the obscuration is caused by a black, filthy and mischievous dewtah, named Rach, who takes possession of the moon and fills her with infection. The Hindoos also maintain, much on the same ground, that the

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moon is four hundred thousand coses, that is above fifty thousand leagues higher than the sun; that she is a luminous body, and that we receive from her a certain vital liquid secretion, which collects principally in the brain, and descending thence as from its source into all the members of the body, enables them to exercise their respective functions. They believe likewise that the sun, moon and stars are all so many dewtahs; that the darkness of night is caused by the sun retiring behind the Someire, an imaginary mountain placed in the centre of the earth, in form like an inverted sugar loaf, and an altitude of I know not how many thousand leagues: so that they never enjoy the light of day but when the sun leaves the back of this mountain.

In geography the Hindoos are equally uninstructed. They believe that the world is flat and triangular; that it is composed of seven distinct habitations, differing in beauty, perfection and inhabitants, and that each is surrounded by its own peculiar sea; that one sea is of milk; another of sugar; a third of butter; a fourth of wine; and so on: so that sea and land occur alternately until you arrive at the seventh stage from the foot of the Someire mountain, which is in the centre. The first habitation, or that nearest to the Someire, is inhabited by dewtahs who are very perfect; the second has also dewtahs for inhabitants, but they are less perfect; and so it is with the rest, whose inha-

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bitants are less and less perfect, until the seventh, which is our earth, inhabited by men infinitely less perfect than any of the dewtahs; and finally, the Hindoos say that the whole of this world is supported on the heads of a number of elephants, whose occasional motion is the cause of earthquakes.

If the renowned sciences of the ancient brahmins consisted of all the extravagant follies which I have detailed, mankind have indeed been deceived in the exalted opinion they have long entertained of their wisdom. I should find it difficult to persuade myself that such was the fact, did I not consider that the religion of the Hindoos has existed from time immemorial; that it is written in Shanscrit, as are likewise all their scientific books; that the Shanscrit has long become a dead language, understood only by the learned; and that its origin is unknown: all which proves a very great antiquity.

When going down the river Ganges, I passed through Benares, and called upon the chief of the pundits, who resides in that celebrated seat of learning. He is a fakir so eminent for knowledge that Shah-Jehan, partly on that consideration, and partly to gratify the rajahs, granted him a pension of two thousand rupees. He is a stout, well made man, and his dress consists of a white silk scarf, tied about the waist, and hanging half way down the leg, and of another tolerably large scarf, of red silk, which he wears as a cloak on his shoul-

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ders. I had often seen him in this scanty dress at Delhi, in the assembly of the omrahs and before the king, and met him in the streets either on foot or in a palanquin. During one year he was in the constant habit of visiting my aga, to whom he paid his court in the hope that he would exercise his influence to obtain the pension of which Aureng-Zêbe, anxious to appear a true muselman, deprived him on coming to the throne. I formed consequently a close intimacy with this distinguished personage, with whom I had long and frequent conversations; and when I visited him at Benares he was most kind and attentive, giving me a collation in the university library, to which he invited the six most learned pundits in the town. Finding myself in such excellent company, I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving India scandalized at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing. "We have indeed in our temples," said they, "a great variety of images, such as that of Burmhà, of Mehadeu, of Genich and of Gavani, who are the principal and the most perfect of the dewtahs: and we have many others esteemed less perfect. To all these images we pay great honour; prostrating our bodies, and presenting to them, with much ceremony, flowers, rice, scented oil, saffron and other similar articles. Yet do we not believe that these

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statues are Burmhà or Bechen; but merely their images and representations. We shew them deference only for the sake of the deity whom they represent, and when we pray it is not to the statue but to that deity. Images are admitted in our temples, because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that he only is the omnipotent Lord."

I have neither added to, nor taken from, the answer that the pundits gave me; but I suspect it was so framed as to correspond with the ideas of the Roman Catholic church. The observations made to me by other learned brahmins were totally different.

I then turned the conversation to the subject of chronology, and my company soon shewed me a far higher antiquity than ours. They would not say that the world was without a beginning; but the great age they gave it sounded almost as if they had pronounced it eternal. Its duration, said they, is to be reckoned by four jogues, or distant ages; not ages composed, as with us, of an hundred years, but of one hundred lacks, that is to say, of an hundred times one hundred thousand years. I do not recollect exactly the number of years assigned to each jogue, but I know that the first, called Suttee jogue, continued during a period of five and twenty lacks of years; that the second, called Tirtāh Jogue,

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lasted above twelve lacks; the third, called Dwā-pāar Jogue, subsisted, if I mistake not, eight lacks and sixty-four thousand years; and the fourth, called Collee Jogue is to continue I forget how many lacks of years.* The first three jogues, they said, and much of the fourth, are passed away, and the world will not endure so many ages as it has done, because it is destined to perish at the termination of the fourth jogue, when all things will return to their first principles. Having pressed the pundits to tell me the exact age of the world, they tried their arithmetical skill over and over again; but finding that they were sadly perplexed, and even at variance as to the number of lacks, I satisfied myself with the general information that the world is astonishingly old. Whenever any of these learned brahmins is urged to state the facts on which he grounds his belief of this vast antiquity, he entertains the enquirer with a set of ridiculous fables, and finishes by asserting that it is so stated in the beids.

I then tried them on the nature of their dewtahs, but their explanation was very confused. These gods consist, they said, of three kinds, good, bad, and indifferent. Some of the learned believe that the dewtahs are composed of fire; others, that they are formed of light; and many are of opinion that they are biapek; a word of which I could obtain no clearer explication than than that God is biapek; that our soul is biapek;

* See note K at the end of the volume.

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and that whatever is biapek is incorruptible and independent of time and place. There are pundits again, who, according to my learned host and his companions, pretend that dewtahs are only portions of the divinity; and lastly, others consider them as certain species of distinct divinities, dispersed over the surface of the globe.

I remember that I also questioned them on the nature of the "lengue cherire," which some of their authors admit; but I could elicit no more from them than what I had long before learnt from our pundit; namely, that the seeds of plants, of trees, and of animals, do not receive a new creation; that they have existed, scattered abroad, and intermixed with other matter, from the first creation of the world; and that they are nothing more or less, not only in potentiality, as it is called, but in reality, than plants, trees and animals entirely perfect, but so minute, that their separate parts only become visible when being brought to their proper place, and there receiving nourishment, they develope and increase: so that the seed of an apple or pear tree is a lengue-cherire, a small apple or pear tree, perfect in all its essential parts; and the seed of a horse, of an elephant or of a man is a lengue-cherire, a small horse, a small elephant or a small man, which requires only life and nourishment in order to its visibly assuming its proper form.

In conclusion, I shall explain to you the mystery of a dispute which has latterly made

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great noise in Hindostan, inasmuch as certain pundits or pagan doctors, had instilled it into the minds of Dara and Sultan Sujah, the elder sons of Shah-Jehan.

You are doubtless acquainted with the doctrine of many of the ancient philosophers concerning that great life-giving principle of the world, of which they argue that we and all living creatures are so many parts: if we carefully examine the writings of Plato and Aristotle, we shall probably discover that they inclined towards this opinion. This is the almost universal doctrine of the pagan pundits of India, and it is this same doctrine which forms the subject matter of dispute among the soofies and the greater part of the literati of Persia, and which is set forth in Persian poetry in very exalted and emphatic language, in their goult-chen-raz, or garden of mysteries. This was also the opinion of Fludd whom our great Gassendi has so ably refuted; and it is a doctrine in which the greater part of our alchymists have been lost. Now these disputers, or Hindoo pundits, push the incongruities in question further than all the philosophers, and pretend that God, or that supreme being whom they call Achar (immovable, unchangeable) has not only produced life from his own substance, but also generally every thing material or corporeal in the universe, and that this production is not formed simply after the manner of efficient causes, but as a spider which produces a web from its own

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navel, and withdraws it at pleasure. The creation then say these visionary doctors, is nothing more than an extraction or extension of the individual substance of God, of those filaments which he draws from his own bowels; and, in like manner, destruction is merely the recalling of that divine substance and filaments into himself; so that the last day of the world, which they call maperlé or pralea and in which they believe every being will be annihilated, will be the general recalling of those filaments which God had before drawn forth from himself.—There is, therefore, say they, nothing real or substantial in that which we think we see, hear or smell, taste or touch; the whole of this world is, as it were, an illusory dream, inasmuch as all that variety which appears to our outward senses, is but one only and the same thing, which is God himself; in the same manner as all those different numbers, of ten, twenty, a hundred, a thousand, &c. are but the frequent repetition of the same unit.—But ask them some reason for this idea; beg them to explain how this extraction and reception of substance occurs, or to account for that apparent variety; or how it is that God not being corporeal but biapek, as they allow, and incorruptible, he can be thus divided into so many portions of body and soul; they will answer you only with some fine similes:—That God is as an immense ocean in which many vessels of water are in con-

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tinual motion; let these vessels go where they will, they always remain in the same ocean, in the same water; and if they should break, the water they contain would then be united to the whole, to that ocean of which they were but parts.—Or they will tell you that it is with God as with the light, which is the same every where, but causes the objects on which it falls to assume a hundred different appearances, according to the various colours, or forms of the glasses, through which it passes.—They will never attempt to satisfy you, I say, but with such comparisons as these, which bear no proportion with God, and which serve only to blind an ignorant people. In vain will you look for any solid answer. If one should reply, that these vessels might float in a water similar to their own, but not in the same; and that the light all over the world is indeed similar, but not the same, and so on to other strong objections, which may be made to their theory, they have recourse continually to the same similes, to fine words, or, as the soofies, to the beautiful poems of their goult-chen-raz.

Now, I would ask, in allusion to all this fine tissue of extravagant folly on which I have remarked; to that childish panic of which I have spoken above; to that superstitious piety and compassion toward the sun in order to deliver it from the malignant and dark dewtah; to that trickery of prayers, of ablutions, of dippings, and

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of alms, either cast into the river, or bestowed on brahmins; to that mad and infernal hardihood of women to burn themselves with the body of those husbands whom frequently they have hated while alive; to those various and frantic practices of the fakirs; and lastly, to all that fabulous trash of their beids and other books: I would ask, in allusion to all this, do you not think I have reason to take as a motto to this letter, the wretched fruit of so many voyages and so many reflections, a motto of which the modern satirist has so well known how to catch and convey the idea without so long a journey: "There are no opinions too extravagant and ridiculous to find reception in the mind of man."

You will do me a kindness by delivering Mr. Chapelle's letter into his own hands; it was he who first obtained for me that acquaintance with your intimate and illustrious friend, Mr. Gassendi, which has since proved so advantageous to me. I am so much obliged to him for this favour that I cannot but love and remember him wherever my lot may be cast. I also feel myself under much obligation to you, and am bound to honour you all my life, not only on account of the partiality you have manifested toward me, but also for the valuable advice contained in your frequent letters, by which you have aided me during my journies, and for your goodness in having sent me so disinterestedly, and gratuitously

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a collection of books to the extremity of the world, whither my curiosity had led me; while those of whom I requested them, who might have been paid with money which I had left at Marseilles, and who in common politeness should have sent them, deserted me and laughed at my letters, looking on me as a lost man whom they were never more to see.

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A LETTER SENT FROM SCHIRAZ IN PERSIA, TO MR. CHAPELLE, ON THE INTENTION EXPRESSED BY THAT GENTLEMAN TO RESUME HIS STUDY OF THE DOCTRINE OF ATOMS AND OF THE NATURE OF THE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.

MY DEAR FRIEND, 10 June, 1668.

I ALWAYS thought, with M. Luillier, that the life you were leading, so much to the displeasure of your friends, ought to be ascribed only to the thoughtlessness of youth, and that you would at length resume your studies with more vigour than ever. The last letters from France, received by way of Hindostan, inform me that you are now in earnest, and that we shall soon see you soar with Democritus and Epicurus, far beyond the resplendent walls or fiery bounds of the world, into infinite space, for the purpose of examining and triumphantly reporting what may be, and what may not be, et ultra proessit longe flammantia, &c. and gravely meditating on the nature of that space, where all things find a place; on those infinite generations and corruptions of pretended worlds by the pretended fortuitous concurrence of atoms; on the nature, the indivisibility, and the other properties of their atoms; on liberty, fate, and destiny; on the existence, unity, and providence of God; on the use of particles; on

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the nature of the soul; in fine, on all the sublime matters of which they have treated.

I cannot condemn your design. Your wish to acquire knowledge is natural. It belongs only to great souls to aspire after it; and nothing so proudly distinguishes man from the brute, as a disposition and a capacity to cultivate the fields of science and learning. But as the loftiest designs are often the most hazardous, so yours is not without much danger. If we have a strong inclination for truth, we are not without a very powerful one for liberty and independence, for denying the existence of any master, and for thinking, saying and doing every thing according to our fantasy, without fear of any being, and without recognizing any obligation to account for our deeds, words or thoughts. It follows, therefore, that unless we be constantly on our guard, this latter propensity will overpower the other; and if we dwell upon the reasons that seem to favour our notions of liberty and independence, while we slightly consider those that militate against them, we shall soon be deprived of any fixed principle of action, be tossed between opposite opinions, and become cold and indifferent to whatever concerns the rule and end of life.

Most of our philosophers, it appears to me, entertain the silly notion that the holding of strange and uncommon opinions will gain them a reputation for wit and learning. They feel delight

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in propagating such opinions, and would fain persuade their hearers, without being themselves persuaded, that those are founded on sure and solid grounds, and that they contain something too profound and mysterious to be comprehended by any but men of learning. Have a care, my dear friend, not to fall into this contemptible vanity. The constant endeavour to impress false ideas on the minds of others, as if we believe them sound, will insensibly fix them upon our own minds as indisputable truths; in the same manner as a man, by the frequent repetition of the same fictitious tale, becomes at length a firm believer in his own lie. The indulgence of this habit will also plunge us into a tormenting state of inquietude; our loose and indeterminate opinions will, as I have hinted, render us inattentive to the great purpose of our existence, and we shall seek in vain for the solid tranquillity which we fondly hoped would accompany the acquisition of science.

I would observe that with all our inclination to learn, we are apt to be indolent. We covet, indeed, truth and knowledge, but we desire to procure them at a cheap rate, without that constant labour and unwearied attention which at last become irksome and often prove prejudicial to health, but which nevertheless are indispensably necessary if we would attain a mastery of any species of science. Unless we are continually on our guard, and contend strenuously against our slothfulness, we shall soon

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delude ourselves into the belief that extraordinary acquirements need not be preceded by persevering and toilsome study, and we shall rest satisfied with that appearance of truth which characterizes the reasonings of our pretenders to philosophy. Instead of this, we ought to estimate these reasonings according to their real strength, and carefully examine the arguments by which they might be confuted, arguments concealed or distorted by our dogmatizers, from vanity and presumption, or from ignorance and prejudice. It happens unfortunately that we feel pleasure, both in permitting things to be exaggerated by others, and in exaggerating them ourselves, and take equal delight in being agreeably deceived, and in imposing agreeable delusions upon mankind.

You see, my dear friend, I am frankly stating the thoughts which the design you have formed has suggested to my mind. It seems to me that in philosophy, and especially in studying those high matters which are become the subjects of your contemplation, there can be no middle course: a choice must be made of two plans.

Either we must avoid the necessity of racking our brains, and consent to be carried softly down the current, along with the many persons of good sense, passing among us even for excellent philosophers, who thus suffer themselves to follow the stream: the labour of mental application will in this manner be obviated, as well as the consequences of philosophizing by

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halves, and of not penetrating things to the bottom; and we shall escape the danger of imbibing disquieting doubts, which embitter every moment of life, and sometimes render men extremely vicious in their lives, and nearly insufferable in their manners: or we must devote our time to hard study; be steadfast in the pursuit of knowledge; and, despising the pitiful vanity of being considered extraordinary wits, and of living without a master to whom we are amenable for the motives of our actions, make truth the sole object of our search. We shall then feel the necessity of weighing and re-weighing the reasonableness of every proposition; of deeply meditating; of writing, conversing and disputing; in a word, of omitting no mode which may contribute to the expansion of our intellect and the improvement of our understanding.

In regard to your request that I would communicate to you the ideas which presented themselves to my mind while discoursing with Danechmend-khan, the philosopher of Asia, on the various subjects of your present studies, I tell you candidly and without fearing the imputation of vanity, that you might have applied to a person of greater intelligence, but not to one who has studied those matters with more assiduity and attention. Not only have I deeply considered all that I have read in ancient and modern authors, and in Arabian, Persian and Hindostanee writings; but I have discoursed a hundred times on

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the subjects of these books, with very great and learned men who have chanced to fall in my way; and when I have seen persons who held the fallacious opinions to which I have alluded, I have not scrupled to feign an acquiescence in these opinions in the hope of drawing from my companions all the information they had it in their power to communicate. But as your question involves considerations that would swell my letter to an inconvenient length, it is better, now that I am so far advanced on my return to Europe, to defer my full answer to the time when I shall have the pleasure of meeting you in France.

In the mean while, lest you should consider me inattentive to your request, I shall observe that it seems to me quite rational to believe that there exists something in us more perfect and excellent than that which we call body or matter.

You know the opinions of Aristotle respecting the elementary matter, than which nothing can be more fallacious, because to be *neither one thing nor another* is, in fact, to be nothing. You know also that all the perfections and properties which Democritus and Epicurus attribute to their primitive bodies, or to the first and sole existence of matter, resolve themselves principally into this, —that there are certain very small and very solid beings, without any void, and indivisible; all having some peculiar and essential form; an infinite number, for example, being round; an infinite number pyramidal; an infinite number square;

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an infinite number cubical, crooked, pointed, triangular; and also an innumerable, though not an infinite, quantity of various other forms; all of them possessed of innate motion, and of an unimaginable swiftness. Some, however, are better suited than others for entering into combination, or more susceptible of disintegration and recomposition according as they are more or less small, more or less round, or more or less smooth and slippery. These philosophers also pretend that all these beings are eternal in their own nature, consequently incorruptible and independent, although without sense, reason or judgment. You are well aware, I say, that all the properties of their little bodies nearly resolve themselves to what I have just now stated, and I wish you to bear this in mind that you may, during the progress of this enquiry, judge whether they are capable of the things attributed to them.

However, not to deprive their principles of any part of their force, and to undeceive you if you believe that I have cast off the doctrine of atoms, I shall avow that the more I consider the infinite division of finite matter, the more absurd and unphilosophical it appears to me; and the reasons by which it is attempted to establish that theory, are as captious as those which Zeno, who supposed this same divisibility, assigned for the purpose of proving that there was no motion; since mathematical points, lines and superficies, which have no existence but in the mind,

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are without solidity, ought not to be transferred and applied to physical bodies, which cannot exist without all their dimensions and which are the workmanship of nature. A philosopher ought, as much as possible, to avoid diving into infinity: it is a deep and dark abyss in which the human understanding is bewildered and lost.

Moreover I am still of opinion, that atoms are indivisible, because they are small portions of matter or small hard bodies, resisting and impenetrable (properties as essential to matter as extension) and because they are pure and continuous matter, without any parts that are only contiguous, and each of which has its peculiar and determinate superficies. Here I shall also add that the separation, disjunction or dissociation of parts merely contiguous in a compound is, in my judgment, the only division conceivable: so that it is impossible to divide any atom, that is, any portion of matter purely continuous, even though we should suppose it as long as a needle; since to divide it with a chisel, for example, we must commence by producing a penetration, which is inconceivable; and it would be necessary that some part of the needle gave way (if we could admit that there are parts in a whole which has by its constitution no contiguous parts) while it is inconceivable how it should give way to the chisel that might press it, or permit any of its portions to yield without penetration; more especially as the parts pressed and the part of the chisel pressing are both of them of the same

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nature and of the same force, both being hard, resisting, and impenetrable. The doctrine of atoms, therefore, has this great advantage—that it does not even assume its principles, and demand the concession that primitive bodies are indivisible: inasmuch as it cannot be even conceived that they are divisible; nor how a hard compound should result from soft, yielding, and divisible principles; nor how two extremely subtile portions of matter, in striking against each other, should not resist by their hardness, without reducing themselves into some dust of smaller particles. Nor does this doctrine of atoms require that there must necessarily be small void spaces between the parts of compounded bodies, let the matter with which it is endeavoured to fill them be ever so subtile; since it is likewise inconceivable not only how a motion should begin *in pleno* (where all is perfectly full) but how the parts themselves of this extremely subtile matter, which must have their particular forms as much defined and determined as the parts of grosser matter, can be so perfectly arranged that there shall not necessarily remain small empty spaces between them.

I shall further acknowledge that, according to the atomical philosophy, it may be very rationally imagined that there is no compound of such admirable shape, composition, order and disposition of parts, not excepting the human body itself, but that it may have been formed by the junction, the peculiar order and disposition of small

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bodies, or atoms, provided there intervened a guiding and sufficiently intelligent cause.

It may also be granted, that there may result from the first causes of this philosophy, a compound so perfect as to be capable of the most difficult species of loco-motion, such as walking like an animated substance, or even perfectly to imitate the singing, weeping, and all the other actions of the most perfect animals. This implies no sort of contradiction, as is proved by clocks and so many other artificial machines.

In fine, I am quite willing to allow that the sect of Democritus and Epicurus, (supposing for it that the atoms are the workmanship of an all-wise and all-powerful God) has great advantages over other sects, and that its followers can give more probable reasons for a great number of beautiful effects of nature than the followers of other sects. Of the truth of this observation those only can doubt who have not made a comparison between them and who are not in the habit of thoroughly examining questions of this kind. But to imagine that the first causes, with all these advantages, are, as they contend, capable of forming an animal, such as man is in all his operations, by a peculiar junction, order, union, and disposition, however admirable these may be, and even although some intelligent and guiding cause should intervene, is what I have always found it impossible to do. The idea appears to me contrary to reason and good sense; and so it

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will doubtless appear to you, if you will recal to your remembrance what you have probably heard mentioned a hundred times, and what I am going to repeat after my own way.

It is not within my purpose to moralize and to pretend that I am returning to my native country a very great man. Such a traveller as I am, nurtured too in the atomical school, might work miracles, which, however, no one would perhaps believe. Be assured, my friend, if I presume to communicate my ideas, it is not out of ostentation, but with the utmost sincerity, and according to my soundest judgment.

Nor do I pretend, notwithstanding my Asiatic preamble, to have made the discovery of any new reasons during my stay in India. Entertain no such expectation, I pray you. I despair nearly as much as Cicero, of any new light being ever thrown upon the subject we are discussing. It would not be difficult to shew that whatever the moderns have said concerning it, amounts either to nothing at all, or to nothing new. I should need only to pursue the observations contained in the writings of Gassendi and Arnault in answer to M. Descartes, observations to which I do not find that gentleman has made any reply. Ardently do I wish that he could, as he pretends, oppose to them arguments invincibly conclusive. I would embrace, and, as it were, adore, the author of demonstration on this subject: with how much greater propriety would the

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verses addressed to an ancient atomist be applicable to him.

> Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
> Præstinxit stellas, exortus uti æthereus, Sol.

I exact only one thing of you—that you seriously reflect on what passes within us, on the operations of our understanding; and that you would then honestly tell me whether you conceive that there is any proportion between the perfection of those operations, and the imperfection of what we call body or matter; supposing, what you will readily admit, that after the imagination has been stretched to its utmost limits, we can never conceive any other properties in atoms, and generally in all that is body or matter, than those I have already enumerated,—size, shape, hardness, indivisibility, motion; or, if you will, (for it does not affect the argument) softness or divisibility.

I flatter myself that you will not refuse the request I now make, which is that you would again apply your attention to those ideas so full of ingenuity and beauty, selected from your notes; to those passages of equal force still to be found there; and generally to all those flights of enthusiasm and poetic transports to be found in your Homer, your Virgil and your Horace, which partake of something divine; and when in that severity of mind and philosophical temper, which you sometimes experience in the morning, you will not refuse to meditate on four

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or five points that appear to me to deserve the attention of a philosopher.

1. The first—that our senses are not only struck by bodies, as the eyes of a statue or an automaton might be, but that we feel the impression, that we feel titillation and pain, and even perceive that we feel them, when we say, "I perceive that this or that pleases my taste much more, or much less than ordinarily; or, that my pain is much less, or much greater, than it was."

2. The second—that frequently we do not rest satisfied with making the above observations, but make such deductions as these: "we ought, therefore, to follow this method; or, we ought, therefore, to shun that." We then come to these general conclusions; "all that is good should be followed; and all that is evil should be avoided."

3. The third—that we remember the past, consider the present, and foresee the future.

4. The fourth—that sometimes we endeavour to penetrate, as it were, into ourselves, into our most inward parts; as I am doing at this moment, while examining what I am, and what may be this reasoning power that is within me; these thoughts, ratiocinations, and reflections. Thus do we reflect on ourselves, and on our operations.

5. The fifth—that being resolutely bent to meditate deeply on any matter, we sometimes make new discoveries, find new reasons, or, at least, see those which have been already found weighing and comparing them one with another,

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and sometimes drawing such consequences as depend upon a great number of antecedent propositions. These propositions, which we shall see at one glance, will all concur to establish the same conclusion: as happens in all the sciences, and principally in mathematics. Such are the strength and admirable extent of the mental faculty!

These reflections may suffice for what I demand of you; the rather, as whatever else I might say would amount to nearly the same thing. But you must submit, for once, to the style of these eastern countries, the air of which I have breathed so long, and attend patiently to another observation, that I consider very important.

Not only do we know the particular things that make an impression upon our senses, but such is the strength and admirable capacity of our understanding that it discovers the means of knowing, and of forming to itself ideas of a thousand things which fall not immediately. and exactly as they are, upon the senses: such ideas, for example, as these: that man is a reasonable animal; that the sun is much larger than the globe we inhabit; that it is impossible a thing should be and should not be, at one and the same time; that two things which are equal to a third, are equal to one another; that the absence of the sun is the cause of night; that every thing engendered is subject to corruption; that from nothing, nothing can be produced, any more

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than that which really exists can return to nothing; that there must of necessity be something eternal and uncreated in the universe—God, or the original matter of things, or both; or that God must have created this matter either from all eternity, or in time. Besides these, the understanding forms to itself an infinite number of ideas, so profound and vast and so remote from matter, that we scarcely know how they have found admission into the human mind.

Now, my dear friend, can all those actions I have mentioned, which argue such strength and power, capacity and extent, of the human mind; can all those internal motions, that peculiar state which, though we cannot clearly explain, we yet plainly feel and acknowledge in ourselves, when we reflect on what passes within us, and consider our operations (for I am lost in my admiration of the reflections which we make on our actions;) can all those actions, I say or interior motions, or whatever else you may choose to call them, can they indeed be attributed to spirits, to a wind, to fire, to air, to atoms, to particles of an extremely subtile essence; in short, to any thing that possesses no other qualities or properties than may be comprehended in the word matter, however small, attenuated, light and active that matter may be; whatever may be its contexture or disposition, and what motions soever it may be made capable of giving and receiving? No; we can never believe that it can be any thing else

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than the merely local movements of some machine wholly artificial, dead, insensible, devoid of judgment and devoid of reason. Never can it be conceived that these can be any of those internal actions I have mentioned, that perception or knowledge that I have knowledge, that perception that I reason, that perception of reasons, and that consciousness that they are perceived.

Moreover, let us, for a moment, consider some of the principal propositions of Euclid, without reference to those of Archimedes, Apollonius, and so many others. When I think only of the 47th of the first book of Euclid, I find something so grand and noble that I confess I can scarcely persuade myself it could be of human invention; but imagine rather that it was the discovery of this incomparable proposition by Pythagoras which induced him, in the extasy of his joy, and the greatness of his astonishment, to offer that grateful and celebrated sacrifice to the gods; thus testifying that the discovery was much beyond the reach of the human understanding.

But I would not therefore say there is reason to believe that man possesses any thing divine,—any particle of the divinity. This idea is an insupportable blasphemy of certain stoics, of the cabalists of Persia and of the brahmins of India, who in their anxiety to maintain the dignity and perfection of the human mind, have chosen to run into this opposite error, rather than countenance the notion that it is so base and imperfect as to

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be all corporeal or matter. I am far from entertaining such an opinion, and you will see by my letter to Mr. Chapelain how much I consider it unworthy of any philosopher. Yet, like the stoics and others, I observe in man something so perfect, grand and elevated, that their notion of a divine principle in him, appears to me much less absurd than the theory that in man, and indeed in the whole universe, there is nothing but what is material; nothing but local and corporeal motions; nothing but body, atoms and matter.

But is it really so? Does that man exist, supposing him not quite void of common sense, who persuades himself that when Archimedes, Pythagoras, and other great men, were indulging the efforts of their genius, and engaged in profound meditations, there was nothing in their heads and brains but what was corporeal, nothing but vital and animal spirits; only a certain natural heat, only particles of a very subtile matter; or, if the term be preferred, only atoms, which though they be insensible, without the least intelligence or reason, and notwithstanding they cannot move (according to the atomists) but by a fated and blind motion and concurrence, yet happened to move and concur with such astonishing luck, that, as they had once before, by means of a similar concurrence, formed the heads of those great men, with those innumerable organs so industriously ordered and disposed: so also they were again so happy as to form and

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produce those subtile thoughts and profound meditations; or rather they happened once more to move themselves in all these organs in so admirable a manner, that falling at last into a certain wonderful order, into a certain wonderful disposition, and into a certain wonderful state (for these are the terms employed by the atomical philosophers) they became themselves that conception, perception and meditation; those admirable propositions and those divine inventions.

Again,—When our choler and rage are excited by insult, or any other cause, and yet we restrain our anger, in obedience to an internal monitor, and feel disposed, contrary to our natural desire for revenge, to act with prudence and moderation, by considerations, it may be, of decorum, of honour, or of virtue, what, I would ask, is this internal movement and state? Can it be rationally said that they are nothing but certain rollings, counter-motions, reflections, peculiar conjunctures, and contextures of atoms or spirit? or, if another mode of expression pleases our philosophers better, particles of matter within the nerves, within those delicate membranes, those subtile channels and organs of the brain, the heart, and other parts of the body? Chimeras, my friend; mere chimeras!

A word more concerning liberty. When, dreading to make a bad instead of a good choice, our mind remains as in a state of equipoise, while seeking within ourselves, and earnestly

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examining, all the reasons for and against, may I ask whether this dread, this hesitation, this search, and the resolution to which we at length come, of adopting or rejecting this or that line of conduct; or, to employ the language of our philosophers, the whole of those motions, of that inward state and mode of being, shall all this be nothing more than a fortuitous and blind concurrence of small bodies? Is it possible you can imagine this? Even Lucretius, that warm partisan of the Epicurean sect, could not carry his credulity so far, nor persuade himself that the free motions of the will should be attributed solely to atoms. Because if the will be, as he says, torn forcibly from fate and raised above destiny, "et fatis avulsa voluntas, &c." how can he, with all his "clinamen," or bending of principles, have really and honestly believed that there is nothing but what is corporeal, and that nothing is done within us, or elsewhere, but by a natural, eternal, independent, immutable, and inevitable concurrence of atoms? He was not ignorant that if such were the case, neither the will, nor any other thing whatsoever, could be separated and exempted from that concatenation, and eternal, immutable succession of motions, and from those causes which would follow and succeed one another by an internal law absolutely necessary and invariable.

I could, in addition to what I have said, remind you of many reasons frequently urged

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upon this subject. You are acquainted with a great man who has collected more than twenty of the most cogent: but it would be trespassing too far upon your patience to recapitulate them in this place, especially as I have already noticed the most important arguments in refutation of the theory in question.

I could also tell you how all the objections to those arguments may be answered; you are not a person, however, to whom one should send a book. I shall confine myself to two observations which I conceive are applicable to this point.

I. What our philosophers say is unquestionably true—that drinking, eating, health, natural heat, the spirits and the good disposition of the organs, which are all corporeal things, and, as they may say, depending upon atoms as principles and primary matter, are things necessary to all those thoughts, reasonings and reflections, in a word, to all the other internal operations which I have mentioned. This is a remark, the truth of which is too sensibly experienced by every person to be denied. But will any man of sense therefore conclude that all which intervenes and concurs to form those operations, are only corporeal, atoms, spirits, subtile matter? Can he possibly come to this conclusion when he has reflected upon the perfection and excellence of the operations, and upon the imperfections of bodies or atoms, or upon the little conformity of their qualities

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to our internal operations? No; he cannot. I am satisfied that all which may be conceded is, that the atoms, spirits, and the other things instanced, are indeed necessary, but merely as conditions and dispositions (or for other purposes unknown to us) and not as first and absolute principles, and as wholly the cause of our internal operations—which must be produced by something more noble, higher, and more perfect.

II. The other observation I would make is this—It is very certain that we cannot form a true, or, as it is called, an immediate and positive idea of that which is above the body, or of any thing which is not body. This, I conceive, we cannot do while we remain in this mortal state, so strictly united to the body. We are prevented from doing it by our subjection to the bodily senses, which so much limits and obscures the light of our understanding. But I do not see it is therefore to be concluded that there is really nothing above the body, nothing but atoms or matter: for, how many things are there of which we have not that positive idea, which yet our reason suffices to convince us that they have a real existence? Or, rather, how few are the things of which we possess true and correct ideas! Have these philosophers themselves, any positive idea of their atoms? They acknowledge that their smallness is such that it cannot be even imagined by hearing this word atom pronounced or explained: so far are atoms from falling under

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our senses, or from impressing us with a true and positive idea! And yet our philosophers believe and conclude from reason that they exist. Has a mathematician any positive idea of the sun's magnitude? It is so prodigious, and so completely transcends the power of our senses, that we are not capable even to imagine it such as it is; there is not a mathematician, notwithstanding, who is not entirely persuaded and clearly convinced, by the force of demonstration, of its superior magnitude, and who does not perfectly know that it greatly surpasses that of our own globe. Is it not likewise true that the nature of a thing may be known by two different ways?—Either *positively*, as when we see the thing, and it falls under one or another of our senses; and when we say what the thing is, and we give it a positive definition. Or *negatively*, when we say what the thing is not. Now, I grant that we are not capable of knowing the principle of our operations, or reasonings, by the first of these ways; nor even what it is, and how those operations are formed and produced. We are not, alas! so happy. We should need other senses much more perfect than all those which we possess. We are not born to penetrate and philosophize so profoundly. Shall we say "Invida præclusit speciem Natura videndi?" But it must also be confessed that we may at least know it by the second of the methods I have mentioned; so that, if we cannot say positively and as a

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truth, what it is, we can at least say, and we certainly know what it is not. I mean, that from the perfection of the operations, which we evidently see to belong to it, operations which have no relation to the properties and perfections of atoms, and which generally surpass the reach of what is mere body; we can deduce this certain conclusion—that the principle of such operations, and those operations themselves, must be something superior to all that is body or corporeal. This is sufficient for my purpose; for at the commencement of this dissertation I advance nothing more. I pretend not that we can form a true and positive idea of that principle; but only that we can and ought to conclude by the reason of the thing, that it must be something, as I have said, much more perfect and much more noble, than all that is comprehended under the term body, whatever may be its being hereafter, whatever may be its nature.

Ought I to hesitate fully to disclose my thoughts? You know I am not a man to speak or write out of vain ostentation, to fabricate untruths, or to speak at random on a subject of such importance as that which now engages our attention. It cannot be denied that there is a very great difference between the operations of brutes and those admirable operations of man which we are now contemplating. I speak not only in respect of the operations of their external senses, as smelling, seeing, tasting and others; but in

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reference also to those of their internal senses, or their imagination. All these operations of the brutes are so much inferior to the reasoning faculties of man, that it must be allowed there is not any proportion, and that the operations of man proceed from a different and infinitely more perfect principle. And yet, my friend, notwithstanding these remarks, I should think that individual a hundred times less absurd who maintained that in the principle of those operations of brutes, whether it be of their internal or even their external senses, there was something more perfect than can be found in that which is merely corporeal, or generally in all which may be comprehended in the terms body, matter or spirits: a person, I say, who defended this opinion, I should consider far less absurd than him who should pretend that the principle of the operations of man was wholly corporeal: so devoid of reason do I consider this latter opinion—so unworthy any man of sound judgment. Was it philosophizing with good faith to affirm so monstrous a proposition? or was it not rather an excessive vanity that drove our philosophers to so irrational an extreme? They saw, no doubt, that their sect possessed great advantages over all others, in being able to explain with much ease and plausibility many of the most beautiful effects of nature, solely by local motion, by the order and peculiar disposition of matter, corpuscules, particles or atoms; and

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they wished to impose the belief that by the same principles they could give a reason for every thing, and explain all which concerns the human mind and its operations.

Have not you and I, my dear sir, always concurred in opinion that how much soever we strained our understanding, we should never be able to conceive how any thing sensible could result from insensible corpuscules, while nothing intervened but what was insensible? and, in regard to atoms, we felt equally satisfied that however small and active our philosophers might make them, whatever motions and forms they might attribute to them, and in whatever order, mixture and disposition they might bring them, nay, however ingenious might be the hand that should regulate them; we felt satisfied, I say, that no philosopher could ever succeed (supposing, with the sect, that atoms have no other properties or perfections than those mentioned) in proving that there can result from those atoms a compound,—I do not say possessed of man's reasoning faculties, but one merely sensitive, such as may be the vilest and most imperfect worm of the earth. And yet these men dare pretend that they can explain how there may result from atoms a thing imaginative and reasonable, a thing which shall be the imaginations and the reasonings themselves!

Let us avoid, my dear friend, the monstrous presumption and contemptible vanity of these

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free-thinkers. Let us not presume to explain the nature of our reasoning principle in the same manner as we may explain such things as fall under our senses. This is a subject which it is folly to treat geometrically. We are not qualified for the attempt in this mortal state, and in that complete subjection to our bodily senses under which we now lie.

Still we ought to entertain a more exalted opinion of ourselves than seems consistent with the theory of these great philosophers, and not imagine with them that our soul is composed of base matter We ought assuredly to believe that we are infinitely more noble and more perfect than they pretend; and resolutely maintain that if we cannot discover what we really are, we yet know with certainty, what we are not:—we are not composed wholly and exclusively of mud and mire. Farewell.

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NARRATIVE OF AN EXCURSION MADE BY THE GREAT MOGUL, AURENG-ZEBE, IN THE YEAR 1616, FROM DELHI, THE CAPITAL OF HINDOSTAN, TO THE KINGDOM OF KASHMIRE, COMMONLY CALLED THE PARADISE OF INDIA, IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO MONSIEUR DE MERVEILLES.

SIR, Delhi, December, 1664.

FROM the period of Aureng-Zêbe's convalescence it had been constantly rumoured that he intended to visit Lahore and Kashmire, in order to benefit his health by change of air and avoid the approaching summer heat, from which a relapse might be apprehended. Many intelligent persons, it is true, could scarcely persuade themselves that the king would venture upon so long a journey, while his father remained a prisoner in the citadel of Agra. Considerations of policy, however, have yielded to those of health; if indeed this excursion may not rather be attributed to the arts and influence of Rochinara-Begum, who has been long anxious to inhale a purer air than that of the seraglio, and to appear in her turn amid a pompous and magnificent army, as her sister Begum-Saheb had done during the reign of Shah-Jehan.

The king left this city on the sixth of this month, at three o'clock in the afternoon; a day and hour which, according to the astrologers of Delhi, cannot fail to prove propitious to long

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journeys. Having reached Sha-limar, his country villa, which is about two leagues distant from the capital, he remained there six whole days in order to afford time for the preparations required by an expedition which was to last eighteen months. We hear to-day that he has set out with the intention of encamping on the Lahore road, and that after two days he will pursue his journey without further delay.

He is attended not only by the thirty-five thousand cavalry which at all times compose his body guard and by infantry exceeding ten thousand in number, but likewise by the heavy artillery and the light or stirrup-artillery, so called because it is inseparable from the king's person, which the large pieces of ordnance must occasionally quit for the high roads, in order that they may proceed with greater facility. The heavy artillery consists of seventy pieces, mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that twenty yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along; and some, when the road is steep or rugged require the aid of elephants in addition to the oxen, to push the carriage wheels with their heads and trunks. The stirrup-artillery is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each mounted, as I have observed elsewhere, on a small carriage of neat construction and beautifully painted; decorated with a number of red streamers, and drawn by two handsome horses, driven by an artillery-man. There is always a third

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or relay horse, which is led by an assistant gunner. These field pieces travel at a quick rate, that they may be ranged in front of the royal tent, in sufficient time to fire a volley as a signal to the troops of the king's arrival.

So large a retinue has given rise to a suspicion that instead of visiting Kashmire, we are destined to lay siege to the important city of Candahar, which is situated equally on the frontiers of Persia, Hindostan and Usbec. It is the capital of a fine and productive country, yielding a very considerable revenue; and the possession of it has consequently been at all times warmly contested between the monarchs of Persia and India.

Whatever may be the destination of this formidable force, every person connected therewith must hasten to quit Delhi, however the urgency of his affairs may require his stay; and were I to delay my own departure I should find it difficult to overtake the army. Besides my navaab, or aga, Danechmend-khan, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon, than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendi and Descartes. I shall commence my journey this very night, after having finally arranged all my affairs, and supplied myself with much the same

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necessaries as if I were a cavalry officer of rank. As my pay is one hundred and fifty crowns per month, I am expected to keep two good Tartarian horses; and I also take with me a powerful Persian camel, and driver; a groom for my horses, a cook and a servant to go before my horse with a flaggon of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country. I am also provided with every useful article; such as a tent of moderate size; a carpet; a portable bed made of four very strong but light canes; a pillow; a couple of coverlets, one of which twice doubled, serves for a mattrass; a soufra, or round leathern cloth used at meals; some few napkins of dyed cloth; three small bags of culinary utensils and earthenware, which are all placed in a large bag, and this bag is again carried in a very capacious and strong double sack made of thongs. This double sack likewise contains the provisions, linen, and wearing apparel, both of master and servants. I have taken care to lay in a stock of excellent rice, for five or six days' consumption; of sweet biscuits flavoured with anise, of lemons and sugar. Nor have I forgotten a linen bag with its small iron hook for the purpose of suspending and draining dais, or curds; nothing being considered so refreshing in this country as lemonade and dais. All these things, as I said before, are packed in one large sack, which becomes so unwieldy that three or four men can with difficulty place it on the camel, although the animal kneels

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down close to it, and all that is required is to turn one of the sides of the sack over its back.

Not a single article which I have mentioned, could conveniently be spared during so extended an excursion as the one in prospect. Here we cannot expect the comfortable lodgings and accommodations of our own country; a tent will be our only inn, and we must make up our minds to encamp and live after the fashion of Arabs and Tartars. Nor can we hope to supply our wants by pillage: in Hindostan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the king's domain. In undertaking this long march it is consoling to reflect that we shall move in a northern direction; that it is the commencement of winter; and that the periodical rains have fallen. This is, indeed, the proper season for travelling in India, the rains having ceased, and the heat and dust being no longer intolerable. I am also happy at the idea of not being any longer exposed to the danger of eating the bazaar bread of Delhi, which is often badly baked and full of sand and dust. I may hope, too, for better water than that of the capital, the impurities of which exceed my power of description; as it is accessible to all persons and animals, and the receptacle of every kind of filth. Fevers most difficult of cure are engendered by it, and worms are bred in the legs which produce violent inflammation, at-

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tended with much danger. If the patient leave Delhi, the worm is generally soon expelled, although there have been instances where it has continued in the system for a year or more. They are commonly of the size and length of the treble string of a violin, and might be easily mistaken for a sinew. In extracting them, great caution should be used lest they break; the best way is to draw them out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them round a small twig of the size of a pin.

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me to think that I shall not be exposed to any of these inconveniences and dangers, as my navaab has with marked kindness ordered that a new loaf of his own household bread, and a souray of Ganges water (with which, like every person attached to the court, he has laden several camels) should be presented to me every morning. A souray is that tin flaggon of water, covered with red cloth, which a servant carries before his master's horse. It commonly holds a quart, but mine is purposely made to contain two, a device which I hope may succeed. This flaggon keeps the water very cool, provided the cloth which covers it be always moist. The servant who bears it in his hand should also continue in motion and agitate the air; or it should be exposed to the wind, which is usually done by putting the flaggon on three neat little sticks placed transversely, so that it may not touch the

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ground. The moisture of the cloth, the agitation of the air, or exposure to the wind, is absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh, as if this moisture, or rather the water which has been imbibed by the cloth, arrested the little bodies, or fiery particles, existing in the air, at the same time that it affords a passage to the nitrous or other particles which impede motion in the water and produce cold, in the same manner as glass arrests water, and allows light to pass through it, in consequence of the contexture and particular disposition of the particles of glass, and the difference which exists between the minute particles of water and those of light.* It is only in the field that this tin flaggon is used. When at home, we put the water into jars made of a certain porous earth, which we cover with a wet cloth; and, if exposed to the wind, these jars keep the water

* When a liquid, for instance, water, is put into an unglazed earthen vessel, a portion of it, transuding through its sides, evaporates; and as during that process, heat is absorbed, the water in the vessel will, of course, become cooled, insomuch that it may be frozen in this process. This effect is more completely produced when the vessel is placed in the sun, and when the surface of evaporation is encreased by wrapping round it cloths moistened with water. The older chymists imagined that a something, to which they gave various names, passed off from the water in the process of cooling, the particles of which were so fine as to transude or pass through the containing vessel. That something modern chymists call caloric.—*Translator.*

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much cooler than the flaggon. The higher sort of people make use of saltpetre, whether in town or with the army. They pour the water, or any other liquid they may wish to cool, into a tin flaggon, round and long-necked, as I have seen English glass bottles. The flaggon is then stirred, for the space of seven or eight minutes, in water into which three or four handfuls of saltpetre have been thrown. The liquid thus becomes very cold and is by no means unwholesome, as I apprehended, though at first it sometimes affects the bowels.

But to what purpose am I indulging in scientific disquisitions when on the eve of departure? when my thoughts should be occupied with the burning sun to which I am about to be exposed, and which in India it is sufficiently painful to endure at any season; with the daily packing, loading and unloading; with the never-ceasing instructions to servants; with the pitching and striking of my tent; with marches by day, and marches by night; in short, with the precarious and wandering life which for the ensuing eighteen months I am doomed to experience? Adieu, my friend; I shall not fail to perform my promise, and to impart to you from time to time all our adventures. The army on this occasion will advance by easy marches: it will not be disquieted with the apprehension of an enemy, but move with the gorgeous magnificence peculiar to the kings of

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Hindostan. I shall therefore endeavour to note every interesting occurrence in order that I may communicate it as soon as we arrive at Lahore.

LETTER THE SECOND.

SIR, Lahore, 25 February, 1665.

THIS is indeed slow and solemn marching; what we here call à la Mogole. Lahore is little more than one hundred and twenty leagues or about fifteen days' journey from Delhi, and we have been nearly two months on the road. The king, it is true, together with the greater part of the army, diverged from the high way, in search of better ground for the sports of the field, and for the convenience of obtaining the water of the Jumna, which we had gone in search of to the right; and we leisurely skirted its bank, hunting and shooting amid grass so high as almost to conceal our horsemen, but abounding in every kind of game. We are now in a good town, enjoying repose; and I cannot better employ my time than in committing to paper the various particulars which have engaged my mind since I quitted Delhi. Soon I hope to conduct you to Kashmire, and to shew you one of the most beautiful countries in the world.

Whenever the king travels in military pomp,

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he has always two private camps; that is to say, two separate bodies of tents. One of these camps being constantly a day in advance of the other, the king is sure to find at the end of every journey, a camp fully prepared for his reception. It is for this reason that these separate bodies of tents are called peiche-keiche-kanes or houses which precede. The two peiche-kanes are nearly equal, and to transport one of them, the aid of more than sixty elephants, two hundred camels, one hundred mules, and one hundred men-porters is required. The most bulky things are carried by the elephants, such as the large tents, with their heavy pillars, which, on account of their great length and weight, are made so as to be taken down into three pieces. The smaller tents are borne by the camels, and the luggage and kitchen utensils by the mules. To the porters are confided the lighter and more valuable articles, as the porcelain used at the king's table, the painted and gilt beds, and those rich karguais, of which I shall speak hereafter.

One of the peiche-kanes has no sooner reached the place intended for the new encampment, than the Grand Quarter-Master selects some fine situation for the king's tents, paying, however, as much attention as possible to the exact symmetry of the whole camp. He then marks out a square, each side of which measures more than three hundred ordinary paces. A hundred pioneers presently clear and level this space, raising square

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panes on which they pitch the tents. The whole of this extensive square is then encompassed with kanates, or screens, seven or eight French feet in height, secured by cords attached to pegs, and by poles fixed two by two in the ground, at every ten paces, one pole within and the other without, and each leaning upon the other. The kanates are made of strong cloth, lined with printed Indian calico, representing large vases of flowers. The royal entrance, which is spacious and magnificent, is in the centre of one of the sides of the square, and the flowered calico of which it is composed, as well as that which lines the whole exterior face of this side of the square, is of much finer texture and richer than the rest.

The first and largest tent erected in the royal camp, is named am-kas; being the place where the king and all the nobility keep the mokam; that is, where they assemble at nine o'clock in the morning for the purpose of deliberating on affairs of state and of administering justice. The kings of Hindostan seldom fail, even when in the field, to hold this assembly twice during the twenty-four hours, the same as when in the capital. The custom is regarded as a matter of law and duty, and the observance of it is rarely neglected.

The second tent, little inferior in size and somewhat more advanced in the interior, is called gosle-kane, or the place for bathing. It is here that all the nobility meet every evening to pay their obeisance to the king, in the same manner

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as when the court is at Delhi. This evening assembly subjects the omrahs to much inconvenience; but it is a grand and imposing spectacle in a dark night, to behold, when standing at some distance, long rows of torches lighting this nobility, through extended lanes of tents, to the gosle-kane, and attending them back again to their own quarters. These flambeaux, although not made of wax, like ours in France, burn a long time. They merely consist of a piece of iron hafted in a stick, and surrounded at the extremity with linen rags steeped in oil, which are renewed, as occasion requires, by the masalchis, or link boys, who carry the oil in long narrow-necked vessels of iron or brass.

Still deeper in the square, is the third tent, smaller than those I have spoken of, called kalvet-kane, the retired spot, or the place of the privy council. To this tent none but the principal ministers of state have access, and it is here that all the important concerns of the kingdom are transacted.

Advancing beyond the kalvet-kane, you come to the king's private tents, which are surrounded by small kanates, of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz, worked over with flowers of a hundred different kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes.

Adjoining the royal tents, are those of the begums, or princesses, and of the great ladies and

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principal female attendants of the seraglio. These tents are also enclosed on every side by rich kanates; and in the midst of them are the tents of the inferior female domestics and other women connected with the seraglio, placed generally in much the same order according to the offices of the respective occupants.

The am-kas, and the five or six other tents are elevated above the rest, as well for the sake of keeping off the heat as that they may be distinguished at a distance. The outside is covered with a strong and coarse red cloth, ornamented with large and variegated stripes; but the inside is lined with beautiful chintz manufactured for the purpose at Masulipatam, the work of which is set off by rich figured satin of various colours, or embroideries of silk, silver and gold, with deep and elegant fringes. Cotton mats, three or four inches in thickness, are spread over the whole floor, and these again are covered with a splendid carpet, on which are placed large square brocade cushions to lean upon. The tents are supported by painted and gilt pillars.

In each of the two tents wherein the king and nobility meet for deliberation is erected a stage, which is most sumptuously adorned, and the king gives audience under a spacious canopy of velvet or flowered silk. The other tents have similar canopies, and they also contain what are called karguais or cabinets, the little doors of which are secured with silver padlocks. You may form some

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horses; and other tents for choice elephants and for the animals employed in hunting; for the birds of prey that invariably accompany the court; and are intended both for shew, and for field-sports; for the dogs; the leopards for catching antelopes; the nil-ghaus, or grey oxen, which I consider a species of elk; the lions and the rhinoceroses, brought merely for parade; the large Bengal buffaloes, which attack the lion; the tamed antelopes, frequently made to fight in the presence of the king.

The quarters of the monarch are understood to comprehend not only the great square, but the numerous tents situated without the square, to which I have just drawn your attention. Their position is always in the centre of the army, or as much so as the nature of the ground will admit. You will easily conceive that there is something very striking and magnificent in these royal quarters, and that this vast assemblage of red tents, placed in the centre of a numerous army, produces a brilliant effect when seen from some neighbouring eminence; especially if the country be open, and offer no obstruction to the usual and regular distribution of the troops.

The first care of the Grand-quarter-master is, as before remarked, to choose a suitable situation for the royal peiche-kanes. The am-kas is elevated above every other tent, because it is the object by which the order and disposition of the whole army is regulated. He then marks out

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the royal bazaars, from which all the troops are supplied. The principal bazaar is laid out in the form of a wide street, running through the whole extent of the army, now on the right, then on the left of the am-kas, and always, as much as possible, in the direction of the next day's encampment. The other royal bazaars, which are neither so long nor so spacious, generally cross this one, some on one side and some on another side of the king's quarters. All of them are distinguished by extremely long poles, stuck in the ground at the distance of three hundred paces from each other, bearing red standards, and surmounted with the tails of the Great Thibet cows, which have the appearance of so many periwigs.

The quarter-master then proceeds to plan the quarters for the omrahs, that there may always be the same observance of regularity, and that each nobleman may be placed at his usual distance from the royal square, whether on the right or on the left, so that no individual may be permitted to change the place allotted to him, or which he expressed a wish to occupy before the commencement of the expedition.

The description I have given of the great square is, in many particulars, applicable to the quarters of the omrahs and rajahs. In general they also have two peiche-kanes, with a square of kanates enclosing their principal tents and those of their wives. Outside this square, are likewise pitched the tents of their officers and cavaliers,

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and there is a bazaar in the form of a street, consisting of small tents belonging to the followers of the army, who supply it with forage, rice, butter, and other necessary articles of life. The omrahs need not, therefore, always have recourse to the royal bazaars, where indeed every thing may be procured, almost the same as in the capital. A long pole is planted at both ends of each bazaar, and distinguished by a particular standard, floating in the air, as high as those of the royal bazaars, in order that the different quarters may be readily discerned from a distance.

The chief omrahs and great rajahs pride themselves on the loftiness of their tents, which must not, however, be too conspicuous, lest the king discover it and command that the tents be thrown down, as he did on our late march. For the same reason, the outside must not be entirely red, there being none but the royal tents that can be of that colour; and as a mark of proper respect every tent is also to front the am-kas, or quarters of the king.

The remainder of the ground between the quarters of the monarch, those of the omrahs, and the bazaars, is filled with the tents of mansebdars, or inferior omrahs; of persons attached to the artillery; of tradespeople of every description, of civil officers and other persons, who for various reasons, follow the camp. The tents are therefore very numerous, and cover a large extent

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of ground; though with respect both to their number and the space occupied by them, very extravagant notions are formed. When the army halts in a fine and favourable country, which leaves it at liberty to adopt the acknowledged rules and order of circular encampment, I do not believe that this space measures more than two leagues, or perhaps two leagues and a half, in circumference, including, here and there, several spots of unoccupied ground. It should be mentioned, however, that the heavy artillery, which requires a great deal of room, is commonly a day or two in advance of the army.

What is said of the strange confusion that prevails in the camp, and of the alarm thereby occasioned to a new comer, is also much exaggerated. A slight acquaintance with the method observed in the quartering of the troops, will enable you to go, without much difficulty, from place to place, as your business may require; the king's quarters, the tents and standards peculiar to every omrah, and the ensigns and cow-tails of the royal bazaars, which are all seen from a great distance, serving, after a little experience, for unerring guides.

Sometimes indeed, notwithstanding all these precautions, there will be uncertainty and disorder, particularly on the arrival of the army at the place of encampment in the morning; when every one is actively employed in finding and establishing his own quarters. The dust that arises often obscures the marks I have mentioned,

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and it becomes impossible to distinguish the king's quarter, the different bazaars, or the tents of the several omrahs. Your progress is besides liable to be impeded by the tents then pitching, and by the cords extended by inferior omrahs, who have no peiche-kanes, and by manseb-dars, to mark their respective boundaries, and to prevent not only the public path from passing through, but the fixing of any strange tent near their own, where their wives, if accompanying them, reside. A troop of servants, with canes in their hands, will not suffer these cords to be removed or lowered: you then naturally retrace your steps, and find that while you have been employed in unavailing efforts to pass at one end, your retreat has been cut off at the other. There is now no means of extricating your laden camels but by menace and entreaty; outrageous passion, and calm remonstrance; seeming as if you would proceed to blows, yet carefully abstaining from touching any one; promoting a violent quarrel between the servants of both parties, and afterward reconciling them for fear of the consequences, and in this way taking advantage of a favourable moment to pass your camels. But the greatest annoyance is perhaps in the evening, when business calls you to any distance. This is the time when the common people cook their victuals with a fire made of cow and camel dung and green wood. The smoke of so many fires of this kind, when there is little wind, is highly offensive, and

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involves the atmosphere in total darkness. It was my fate to be overtaken three or four times by this wide-spreading vapour. I enquired, but could not find my way: I turned and roamed about ignorant whither I went. Once I was obliged to stop until the smoke dispersed, and the moon arose; and at another time I with difficulty reached the aquacy-die, at the foot of which I passed the night, with my horse and servant. The aquacy-die resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed toward the king's quarters, near the tent called nagar-kane, and during the night has a lighted lantern suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name aquacy-die may be translated Light of Heaven; the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star.

To prevent robberies, every omrah provides watchmen, who continually perambulate his particular quarters during the night, crying Kaber-dar! or, Have a care! and there are guards posted round the whole army at every five hundred paces, who kindle fires, and also cry out Kaber-dar! Besides these precautions, the Cotoual, or Grand Provost, sends soldiers in every direction, who especially pervade the bazaars,

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crying out and sounding a trumpet. Notwithstanding all these measures, robberies are often committed, and it is prudent to be always on the alert; not to rely too much on the vigilance of servants; and to repose at an early hour, so as to watch during the remainder of the night.

I will now proceed to describe the different modes of travelling adopted by the Great Mogul on these occasions.

Most commonly he is carried on men's shoulders, in a tucktravan, or field-throne, wherein he sits. This tuckt is a species of magnificent tabernacle, with painted and gilt pillars and glass windows, that are kept shut when the weather is bad. The four branches, or outer parts of the poles by which this tuckt is carried, are covered either with scarlet or brocade, and decorated with deep fringes of silk and gold. At each branch are stationed too strong and handsomely dressed men, who are relieved by eight other men constantly in attendance. Sometimes the king rides on horseback, especially when the weather is favourable for hunting; and at other times he is carried by an elephant, in a mik-dember, or in a hauze, which is by far the most striking and splendid style of travelling, as nothing can surpass the richness and magnificence of the harness and trappings. The mik-dember is a small house, or square wooden tower, gilt and painted; and the hauze, an oval chair with a canopy of pillars, also superbly decorated with colours and gold.

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In every march, the king is accompanied by a great number of omrahs and rajahs, who follow him closely on horseback, placing themselves promiscuously in a body, without much method or regularity. On the morning of a journey, they assemble at break of day in the am-kas, with the exception of those who may be exempted by age or the nature of their office. They find these marches very fatiguing, especially on hunting-days, being exposed like a private soldier to the sun and dust, frequently until three o'clock in the afternoon.

These luxurious lords move along very differently when not in the train of the king: neither dust nor sun then annoys them, but they are stretched, as on a bed, in a palanquin closed and covered, or not, as may be found more agreeable; sleeping at ease until they reach their tent, where they are sure to find an excellent dinner, the kitchen and every necessary article having been sent forward the preceding night, immediately after supper. The omrahs are always surrounded by a number of well-mounted cavaliers, called gourze-berdars, because they carry a kind of club, or silver mace. The king is also attended by many of them, who go before him, both on the right and on the left, together with a multitude of footmen. The gourze-berdars are chosen, well-looking men, of fine figures, and are employed to convey orders and dispatches. With great sticks in their hands, they drive every body before them, and keep the way clear for the king.

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The kour follows the rajahs, and is intermixed with a large number of tymbals and trumpets. This kour, as I before observed, consists of figures in silver, representing strange animals, hands, scales, fishes and other mystical objects, borne at the end of large silver canes.

A numerous body of manseb-dars or inferior omrahs comes next, well-mounted, and equipped with sword, quiver, and arrows. This body is much more numerous than that of omrahs, which follows the king; because not only the manseb-dars who are on duty are obliged to assemble at break of day near the tent of the king, for the purpose of accompanying him, but there are many who join the train in the hope of attracting notice and obtaining preferment.

The princesses and great ladies of the seraglio have also different modes of travelling. Some prefer tchaudoules, which are borne on men's shoulders, and are not unlike the tucktravans. They are gilt and painted, and covered with most magnificent silk nets of many colours, enriched with embroidery, fringes, and beautiful tassels. Others travel in stately and close palanquins, gilt and coloured, over which are also expanded similar silk nets. Some again, use capacious litters, suspended between two powerful camels, or between two small elephants. It is in this style I have sometimes seen Rochinara-Begum pursuing her journey, and have observed more than once in the front of the litter, which was open, a young well-dressed female slave, with a peacock's tail in

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her hand, brushing away the dust, and keeping off the flies from the princess. The ladies are not unfrequently carried on the backs of elephants, which, upon these occasions wear massy bells of silver, and are decked with costly furniture: the harnesses are sumptuous, and the ornaments appendant to the saddles are curiously embroidered. These lovely and distinguished females, seated in mik-dembers, are thus elevated above the earth, like so many superior beings, borne along through the middle region of the air. Each mik-dember contains eight women, four on a side: it is latticed and covered with a silken net, and yields not in richness and splendour to the tchaudoule or the tucktravan.

I cannot avoid dwelling on this pompous procession of the seraglio. It strongly arrested my attention during the late march, and I feel delight in recalling it to my memory. Stretch imagination to its utmost limits, and you can conceive no exhibition more grand and imposing than when Rochinara-Begum, mounted on a stupendous Pegu elephant, and seated in a mik-dember blazing with gold and azure, is followed by five or six other elephants with mik-dembers nearly as resplendent as her own, and filled with ladies attached to her household. Close to the princess are the chief eunuchs, richly adorned and finely mounted, each with a cane in his hand; and surrounding her elephant, a troop of female servants from Tartary and Kashmire, fantastically at-

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tired and riding handsome pad-horses. Besides these attendants, are several eunuchs on horseback, accompanied by a multitude of pagys, or lackeys on foot, with large canes, who advance a great way before the princess, both to the right and to the left, for the purpose of clearing the road and driving before them every intruder. Immediately behind Rochinara-Begum's retinue, appears a principal lady of the court, mounted and attended much in the same manner as the princess. This lady is followed by a third; she by a fourth; and so on, until fifteen or sixteen females of quality pass with a grandeur of appearance, equipage and retinue more or less proportionate to their rank, pay, and office. There is something very impressive of state and royalty in the march of these sixty or more elephants; in their solemn and, as it were, measured steps; in the splendour of the mik-dembers, and the brilliant and innumerable followers in attendance: and if I had not regarded this display of magnificence with a sort of philosophical indifference, I should have been apt to be carried away by the similar flights of imagination as inspire most of the Indian poets, when they represent the elephants as conveying so many goddesses, concealed from the vulgar gaze.

Truly, it is with difficulty that these ladies can be approached, and they are almost inaccessible to the sight of man. Woe to any cavalier, however exalted in rank, who, meeting the procession,

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is found too near. Nothing can exceed the insolence of the tribes of eunuchs and pages which he has to encounter, and they eagerly avail themselves of any such opportunity to beat a man in the most unmerciful manner. I shall not easily forget being once surprised in a similar situation, and how narrowly I escaped the cruel treatment that many cavaliers have experienced: but determined not to suffer myself to be beaten and perhaps maimed without a struggle, I drew my sword, and having fortunately a strong and spirited horse, I was enabled to open a passage, sword in hand, through a host of assailants, and to dash across the rapid stream which was before me. It is indeed a proverbial observation in the army that three things are carefully to be avoided: the first, getting among the choice and led horses, where kicking abounds; the second, intruding on the hunting ground; and the third, a too near approach to the ladies of the seraglio. It is much worse, however, in Persia. I understand that in that country life itself is forfeited if a man be within sight even of the eunuchs, although he should be half a league distant from the women; and all the male inhabitants of the towns and villages through which the seraglio is to pass must abandon their homes and fly to a considerable distance.

I shall now speak of the field sports of the king. We could never conceive how the Great Mogul could hunt with an army of one hundred

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thousand men; but there certainly is a sense in which he may be said to hunt with two hundred thousand, or with any number of which his army may consist.

In the neigbourhoods of Agra and Delhi, along the course of the Jumna, reaching to the mountains, and even on both sides of the road leading to Lahore, there is a large quantity of uncultivated land, covered either with copse wood or with grasses six feet high. All this land is guarded with the utmost vigilance; and excepting partridges, quails and hares, which the natives catch with nets, no person, be he who he may, is permitted to disturb the game; which is consequently very abundant.

Whenever the monarch is about to take the field, every game-keeper near whose district the army is to pass, is called upon to apprize the grand master of the hunt, of the various sorts of game under his particular charge, and of the places where they are in the greatest plenty. Guards are then stationed in the different avenues, to guard the tract of ground selected, which extends sometimes four and five leagues; and while the army is on its march, on one side or the other, so as to avoid that tract, the king enters it with as many omrahs and other persons as have liberty to do so, and enjoys, leisurely and uninterruptedly, the sports of the field, varying them according to the nature of the game.

I shall, in the first place, describe the manner

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in which they chase antelopes with tame leopards.

I think that I have elsewhere told you that there are in India large numbers of antelopes, very much resembling our fawns in shape; that they move generally in herds; and that every herd, which is never composed of more than five or six, is followed by a male, who is easily distinguished by his colour. When one of these little troops is discovered, the first step is to have it seen by the leopard, who is kept chained on a small car. The sagacious and cunning animal does not, as might be expected, run at once towards the antelopes, but winds about, hides himself, crouches, and in this cautious manner approaches them unperceived, so as to give himself a fair chance of catching them with those five or six bounds, which the leopard is noted for making with incredible agility. If successful, he gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver; but if he miss his prey, as frequently happens, he makes no other effort, but stands perfectly still. It would indeed be useless to contend with these animals in a fair race, for they run much more fleetly and much longer than the leopard. His keeper finds no great difficulty in securing him again on the car; he comes softly, caresses him, throws down a few pieces of flesh and, covering his eyes, fastens his chain. During the march, one of these leopards very unexpectedly afforded us this amusement, to the no small consternation, however, of

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many of us. A troop of antelopes ran through the midst of the army, as was indeed the case every day; but these happened to pass very close to two leopards who were placed as usual on their car. One, whose eyes were not covered, made so violent an effort as to break his chain, and rush after the antelopes, but without catching any. Impeded however, in their flight, turned and pursued on all sides, one of them could not avoid again approaching the leopard, who pounced upon, and seized the poor animal, notwithstanding the crowds of camels and horses that were in his way, and contrary to the common opinion that the leopard never attacks the prey which he has once missed.

There is nothing very interesting in the mode of hunting the nil-ghaus, or grey oxen; which as I before stated are a species of elk. They enclose them in great nets, which are drawn closer by degrees; and, when the space is reduced to a small compass, the king enters with his omrahs and huntsmen, and the animal is killed with arrows, short pikes, swords and musketoons. Sometimes these nil-ghaus are slaughtered in such numbers that the king sends whole quarters of them as presents to all the omrahs.

It is curious enough to observe the manner in which cranes are caught. Their courageous defence in the air against the birds of prey affords much sport. Sometimes they kill their assailants; but from the slowness of their movements in

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wheeling round, they are overcome as the number of their enemies increases.

But of all the diversions of the field the hunting of the lion is not only the most perilous, but it is peculiarly royal; for, except by special permission, the king and princes are the only persons who engage in the sport. As a preliminary step, an ass is tied near the spot where the game-keepers have ascertained the lion retires. The wretched animal is soon devoured, and after so ample a meal the lion never seeks for other prey, but without molesting either oxen, sheep or shepherd goes in quest of water, and after quenching his thirst, returns to his former place of retirement. He sleeps until the next morning, when he finds and devours another ass, which the game-keepers have brought to the same spot. In this way they contrive, during several days, to allure the lion and to attach him to one place; and when information is received of the king's approach, they fasten at the spot an ass where so many others have been sacrificed, down whose throat a large quantity of opium has been forced. This last meal is of course intended to produce a soporific effect upon the lion. The next operation is to spread, by means of the peasantry of the adjacent villages, large nets, made on purpose, which are gradually drawn closer, in the manner practised in hunting nil-ghaus. Every thing being in this state of preparation, the king appears on an elephant barbed with iron, and attended by the grand master of the

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hunt, some omrahs mounted on elephants, and a great number both of gourze-berdars on horse-back and of game-keepers on foot, armed with half-pikes. He immediately approaches the net on the outside, and fires at the lion with a large musketoon. The wounded animal makes a spring at the elephant, according to the invariable practice of lions, but is arrested by the net; and the king continues to discharge his musketoon, until the lion is at length killed.

It happened, however, during the last hunt, that the enraged animal leaped over the net, rushed upon a cavalier, whose horse he killed, and then effected his escape for a time. Being pursued by the huntsmen, he was at length found and again enclosed in nets. The whole army was on that occasion subjected to great inconveniencies and thrown into a considerable degree of confusion. We remained three or four days patrolling in a country intersected with torrents from the mountains, and covered with underwood, and long grass that nearly concealed the camels. No bazaars had been formed and there were no towns or villages near the army. Happy those who during this scene of disorder could satisfy the cravings of hunger! Shall I explain the weighty reason of this long detention in such abominable quarters? You must know then, that as it is considered a favourable omen when the king kills a lion, so is the escape of that animal portentous of infinite evil to the state. Accordingly, the termination of

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the hunt is attended with much grave ceremony. The king being seated in the general assembly of the omrahs, the dead lion is brought before him, and when the carcase has been accurately measured and minutely examined, it is recorded in the royal archives that such a king on such a day slew a lion of such a size and of such a skin, whose teeth were of such a length, and whose claws were of such dimensions.

Let me just add a word on the subject of the opium given to the ass. One of the principal huntsmen assures me that it is a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion is sufficiently disposed to sleep when he has eaten to satiety.

I observed that the great rivers are commonly without bridges. The army crossed them by means of two bridges of boats, constructed with tolerable skill, and placed between two and three hundred paces apart. Earth and straw mingled together, are thrown upon them to prevent the cattle from slipping. The greatest confusion and danger occur at the extremities; for not only the crowd and pressure occur most there, but when the approaches to the bridge are composed of soft moving earth, they become so broken up and so full of pits, that horses and laden oxen tumble upon one another into them, and the people pass over the struggling animals in the utmost disorder. The evil would be much increased if the army were under the necessity of crossing in one day; but the king generally fixes

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his camp about half a league from the bridges of boats, and suffers a day or two to elapse ere he passes to the opposite side of the river; when, pitching his tents within half a league from the bank, he again delays his departure so as to allow the army three days and nights, at least, to effect the passage.

As to the number of people, whether soldiers or others, which the camp contains, it is not easy to determine accurately; so various are the opinions on this point. I may venture, however, to state generally, that in this march from Delhi to Kashmire, there are at least one hundred thousand horsemen, and more than one hundred and fifty thousand animals, comprising horses, mules, and elephants; that besides these, there cannot be much less than fifty thousand camels; and nearly as many oxen or horses employed to carry the wives and children, the grain and other provisions belonging to the poor people connected with the bazaars, who when they travel take with them, like the gypsies, the whole of their families, goods and chattels. The servants in the army must be indeed numerous, since nothing is done without their assistance. I rank only with a two-horsed cavalier, and yet I cannot possibly contrive with less than three men. Many are of opinion that the camp contains between three and four hundred thousand persons; some believe this estimate to be too small, while others consider it rather exaggerated. Accurately to determine the ques-

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tion the people should be numbered. All I can confidently assert is that the multitude is prodigious and almost incredible. The whole population of Delhi, the capital city, is in fact, collected in the camp, because deriving its employment and maintenance from the court and army, it has no alternative but to follow them in their march or to perish from want during their absence.

You are no doubt at a loss to conceive how so vast a number both of men and animals can be maintained in the field. The best solution of the difficulty will be found in the temperance and simple diet of the Indians. Of the five score thousand cavaliers not a tenth, no, not a twentieth part, eat animal food; they are satisfied with their kichery, a mess of rice and other vegetables, over which, when boiled, they pour melted butter. It should be considered too, that camels endure fatigue, hunger and thirst in a surprising degree, live upon little, and eat any kind of food. At the end of every march, they are left to browse in the fields, where every thing serves for fodder. It is important likewise to observe that the same tradesmen who supply the bazaars at Delhi are compelled to furnish them in the camp; the shops of which they are composed being kept by the same persons, whether in the capital or in the field.

These poor people are at great pains to procure forage: they rove about from village

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to village, and what they succeed in purchasing, they endeavour to sell in the army at an advanced price. It is a common practice with them to clear, with a sort of trowel, whole fields of a peculiar kind of grass, which having beaten and washed, they dispose of in the camp at a price sometimes very high and sometimes inadequately low.

There is a curious fact respecting the king which I had almost forgotten to relate. He enters the camp sometimes on one side, sometimes on another; that is, he will to-day pass near the tents of certain omrahs and to-morrow near the tents of others. This variation of route is not, as you might suppose, accidental: the omrahs, whom the monarch honours by his vicinity, must leave their quarters to meet him, and must present his majesty with a purse of more or less value; from twenty to fifty golden rupees according to their liberality and the amount of their pay.

I shall say nothing of the towns and villages between Delhi and Lahore: I have in fact scarcely seen any of them. My aga's station not being in the centre of the army, where the high road is often found, but in the front of the right wing, it was our custom to traverse fields and by-paths during the night, guided by the stars; frequently mistaking our way, and marching five or six leagues, instead of three or four, the usual distance between two encampments, till day-light again set us right.

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LETTER THE THIRD,

WRITTEN AT LAHORE ON THE KING'S RESUMING HIS JOURNEY TO KASHMIRE.

SIR,

It is not without reason that the kingdom of which Lahore is the capital, is named the Penjeab, or the Region of the Five Waters; because five rivers do really descend from the great mountains which enclose the kingdom of Kashmire, and taking their course through this country, fall into the Indus, which empties itself into the ocean at Sindy, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whether Lahore be the ancient Bucephala, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here sufficiently known by the name of Sekander Filifous, or Alexander the son of Philip: concerning his horse, however, they know nothing. The river on which the city was built, one of the five, is as considerable as the Loire, and is much in want of a similar causeway as that on which the road is carried on the banks of the French river; for it is subject to inundations which cause great injury and frequently change its bed: indeed within a few years the river has receded a full quarter of a league from Lahore to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. Unlike the buildings of Delhi and Agra, the houses here are very lofty: but the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities, most of the houses in Lahore are in a ruinous state. Indeed, many have been

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totally destroyed and have buried many of the inhabitants under their ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years. There are still five or six considerable streets, two or three of which exceed a league in length; but not a few of the houses in them are tumbling to the ground. The river having changed its bed, the king's palace is no longer seated on its banks. This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi or Agra. It is more than two months since we arrived in this city: we have waited for the melting of the snow on the mountains of Kashmire, in order to obtain an easier passage into that country. Our departure is finally fixed, however, for to-morrow. The king quitted Lahore two days ago. I am provided with a small and handsome Kashmirean tent, which I purchased yesterday. I have been advised to do the same as others, and to proceed no farther with my old tent, which is rather large and heavy. It will be difficult, they tell me, to find room for all our tents among the mountains of Kashmire, which besides are impassable to camels; so that requiring porters for our baggage, the carriage of my old tent would be too expensive. Farewell!

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LETTER THE FOURTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP OF THE ARMY MARCHING FROM LAHORE TO KASHMIRE, THE FOURTH DAY OF ITS MARCH.

SIR,

I HOPED that, as I had survived the heat of Mokha near the straits of Babelmandel, I should have nothing to apprehend from the burning rays of the sun in any part of the earth; but that hope has abandoned me since the army left Lahore four days ago. I am indeed no longer surprised that even the Indians expressed much apprehension of the misery which awaited them during the eleven or twelve days' march of the army from Lahore to Bember, which is situated at the entrance of the Kashmire mountains. I declare, without the least exaggeration, that I have been reduced by the intenseness of the heat to the last extremity; scarcely believing, when I rose in the morning, that I should outlive the day. This extraordinary heat is occasioned by the high mountains of Kashmire; for being to the north of our road, they intercept the cool breezes which would refresh us from that quarter, at the same time that they reflect the scorching sun-beams, and leave the whole country arid and suffocating. But why should I attempt to account philosophically for that which may kill me to morrow?

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LETTER THE FIFTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP ON THE SIXTH DAY OF THE MARCH.

I YESTERDAY crossed one of the great rivers of India, called the Chunaub. Its excellent water, with which the principal omrahs are providing themselves, instead of the Ganges' water that has hitherto supplied their wants, induces me to hope that the ascent of this river does not lead to the infernal regions, but that it may really conduct us to the kingdom of Kashmire, where they would make me believe we should be gladdened with the sight of ice and snow. Every day is found more insupportable than the preceding, and the farther we advance, the more does the heat increase. It is true that I crossed the bridge of boats at broad noon day, but I am not sure that my sufferings would have been less if I had remained stifling in my tent. My object was at least attained, I passed over this bridge quietly, while every body else was resting and waiting to cross toward the close of the day, when the heat is less oppressive. Perhaps I owe my escape from some fatal accident to my prudence and foresight, for no passage of a river, since the army quitted Delhi, has been attended with such dreadful confusion. The entrance at one extremity of the bridge into the first boat, and the going out from the last boat at the other extremity, were rendered extremely difficult and

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dangerous on account of the loose moving sand which it was necessary to pass, and which giving way under the feet of such crowds of animals, was carried off by the current, and left considerable cavities into which numbers of camels, oxen, and horses, were thrown down, and trodden under foot, while blows were dealt about without intermission. There are generally upon these occasions officers and cavaliers attached to omrahs, who to clear the way for their masters and their baggage, make an active use of their canes. My navaab has lost one of his camels, with the iron oven it carried; so that I fear I shall be reduced to the necessity of eating the bazaar bread.

LETTER THE SIXTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE MARCH.

Alas, my dear sir! what can induce an European to expose himself to such terrible heat, and to these harassing and perilous marches? It is too much curiosity; or rather it is gross folly and inconsiderate rashness. My life is placed in continual jeopardy. Out of evil, however, may arise some good. When at Lahore, I was seized with a defluxion, accompanied by acute pains in my limbs, in consequence of having passed whole nights on a terrace in the open air, as is commonly

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done in Delhi without danger. My health was suffering; but since we have been on the march, the violent perspirations, continued for eight or nine days, have dissipated my bad humours, and my parched and withered body is become a mere sieve, the quart of water, which I swallow at a draught, passing at the same moment through every one of my pores, even to my fingers' ends. I am sure I have not drunk to-day less than ten or eleven quarts. Amid all our sufferings, it is a great consolation to be able to drink as much water as we please with impunity, provided it be of a good quality.

LETTER THE SEVENTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP ON THE TENTH DAY OF THE MARCH, IN THE MORNING.

SIR,

The sun is but just rising, yet the heat is insupportable. There is not a cloud to be seen nor a breath of air to be felt. My horses are exhausted; they have not seen a blade of green grass since we quitted Lahore. My Indian servants, notwithstanding their black, dry and hard skin, are incapable of farther exertion. The whole of my face, my feet and my hands are flayed. My body too is entirely covered with small red blisters, which prick like needles. Yesterday one of our poor cavaliers, who was without a tent, was found dead at the foot of a tree, whither he had crept for

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shelter. I feel as if I should myself expire before night. All my hopes are in four or five lemons still remaining for lemonade, and in a little dry curd which I am about to drink diluted with water and with sugar. Heaven bless you! the ink dries at the end of my pen, and the pen itself drops from my hand.

LETTER THE EIGHTH,

WRITTEN AT BEMBER, THE ENTRANCE OF THE MOUNTAINS OF KASHMIRE, AFTER HAVING BEEN TWO DAYS ENCAMPED NEAR THAT TOWN.

At length we have reached Bember, situated at the foot of a steep, black and scorched mountain. We are encamped in the dry bed of a considerable torrent, upon pebbles and burning sands,—a very furnace; and if a heavy shower had not fallen opportunely this morning, and I had not received from the mountains a seasonable supply of curdled milk, lemons, and a fowl, I know not what would have become of your poor correspondent. But God be praised! the atmosphere is evidently cooler, my appetite is restored, my strength improved; and the first use I make of returning health is to resume my pen. You must now be made acquainted with new marches and fresh troubles.

Yesterday, at night, the king left these suffocating quarters. He was accompanied by Rochi-

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nara-Begum and the other women of the seraglio, the Rajah Ragnat, who acts as vizier, and Fazel-khan, the high steward: and last night the grand master of the hunt also left the camp, with some principal officers of the royal household, and several ladies of distinction. To-night, it will be our turn to depart: besides my navaab Danech-mend-khan's family, the party will consist of Mahmet-Emir-khan, son of the celebrated Emir Jemla, of whom I have already spoken so much; of my excellent friend Dianet-khan and his two sons, and of several other omrahs, rajahs and mansebdars. The other lords, who are to visit Kashmire will depart each in his turn, to lessen the inconvenience and confusion that must attend the five days' journey between this place and Kashmire, through difficult and mountainous paths. The remainder of the court, such as Feday-khan, the grand master of the artillery, three or four principal rajahs, and a large number of omrahs, will continue stationed as guards, in this town and neighbourhood, during three or four months, until the great heat be over, when the king will return. Some will pitch their tents on the banks of the Chunaub, others will repair to the adjacent towns and villages, and the rest will be under the necessity of encamping in this burning Bember.

That a scarcity of provisions may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kashmire, the king will be followed by a very limited number of in-

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dividuals. Of females, he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Rochinara-Begum, and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with. The omrahs and military will also be as few as possible; and those lords, who have permission to attend the monarch, will be accompanied by no more than twenty-five cavaliers out of every hundred; not however to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household. These regulations cannot be evaded, an omrah being stationed at the pass of the mountains, who reckons every person one by one, and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of mansebdars and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of Kashmire; as well as of all those petty tradesmen and inmates of the bazaars whose only object is to gain a livelihood.

The king has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage, and the women of the seraglio. Though heavy and unwieldy, these animals are yet very sure-footed, feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous, and assuring themselves of the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The king has also a few mules; but his camels, which would be more useful, are all left behind, the mountains being too steep and craggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels; and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed, if what they tell me be true, that the king alone has no

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fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three, although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at Lahore: every person did the same, not excepting the omrahs and the king himself; and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in Bember; some sent by the Governor of Kashmire and by the neighouring rajahs, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed; an enormous number, when it is considered that the king and omrahs have been sending forward baggage, and the tradespeople articles of every sort for the last month.

LETTER THE NINTH,

WRITTEN AT KASHMIRE, THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE OF THE INDIES, AFTER A RESIDENCE OF THREE MONTHS.

SIR,

THE histories of the ancient kings of Kashmire maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pire, or aged saint, named Kacheb, who miraculously cut the mountain of Barehmooleh. This account is to be met with in the abridgement of the above-mentioned histories, made by order of Jehan Guire,

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which I am now translating from the Persian. I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water: the same thing is reported of Thessaly and of other countries; but I cannot easily persuade myself that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very extensive and very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank into some subterraneous cavern, which was unclosed by a violent earthquake, not uncommon in these countries. If we are to believe the Arabs of those parts, the opening of Babelmandel was effected in the same manner; and it is thus that entire towns and mountains have been engulphed in great lakes.

Kashmire, however, is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many hillocks: about thirty leagues in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. It is situated at the extremity of Hindostan, to the north of Lahore; enclosed by the mountains at the foot of Caucasus, those of the kings of Great Thibet and Little Thibet, and of the Rajah Gamon; who are its most immediate neighbours.

The surrounding mountains nearest to the valley of Kashmire, are of moderate height, of the freshest verdure, decked with trees and covered with pasture land, on which cows, sheep, goats, horses, and every kind of cattle, is seen to graze. Game of various species is in great plenty,—partridges, hares, antelopes, and animals yielding musk. Bees are also in vast abundance;

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and, what may be considered very extraordinary in India, there are, with few or no exceptions, neither serpents, tigers, bears, nor lions. These mountains may indeed be characterized not only as innocuous, but as flowing in rich exuberance with milk and honey.*

Beyond the mountains just described arise others of very considerable altitude whose summits, at all times covered with snow, soar above the clouds and ordinary fogs and, like Mount Olympus, are constantly bright and serene.

From the sides of all these mountains gush forth innumerable springs and streams of water, which are conducted, by means of aqueducts, even to the top of the numerous hillocks in the valley; thereby enabling the inhabitants to irrigate their fields of rice. These waters, after separating into a thousand rivulets and producing a thousand cascades through this charming country, at length collect and form a beautiful

* The valley or country of Kashmire is celebrated throughout Upper Asia for its romantic beauties, for the fertility of its soil and for the temperature of its atmosphere. All these particulars may be accounted for, when it is considered that it is an elevated and extensive valley, surrounded by steep mountains that tower above the regions of snow; and that its soil is composed of the mud deposited by a capital river, which originally formed its waters into a lake that covered the whole valley; until it opened itself a passage through the mountains, and left this fertilized valley, an ample field to human industry, and to the accommodation of a happy race: for such the ancient inhabitants of Kashmire undoubtedly were.—*Major Rennell.*

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river, navigable for vessels as large as are borne on the Seine. It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course toward Barehmooleh, where it finds an outlet between two stupendous rocks and being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, throws itself over precipices and falls into the Indus near the city of Attock.

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains, maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron and other vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals and a few small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with European flowers* and plants, and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot and walnut-trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of melons, pateques, or water melons, skirrets, red beet, radishes, the major part of our potherbs, and other herbs with which we are unacquainted.

* I may venture to class in the first rank of vegetable produce, the rose of Kashmire, which, for its brilliancy and delicacy of odour has long been proverbial in the east, and its essential oil or ottar is held in universal estimation.—*Forster.*

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The fruit is certainly inferior to our own, nor is it in such variety; but this I am satisfied is not attributable to the soil, but merely to the comparative ignorance of the gardeners; for they do not understand the culture and the grafting of trees as we do in France. I have eaten, however, a great deal of very excellent fruit during my residence in Kashmire, and should entertain no doubt of its arriving at the same degree of excellency as that of Europe if the people were more attentive to the aspect of the trees and supplied them with grafts from foreign countries.

The capital of Kashmire bears the same name as the kingdom. It has no walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in length and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain; distant about two leagues from the mountains which seem to describe a semicircle; and seated on the banks of a fresh water lake whose circumference is from four to five leagues.* This lake is

* George Forster, who visited this city in the year 1783, thus describes it. "The city, which in the ancient annals of India was known by the name of Siringnahur, but now by that of the province at large, extends about three miles on each side of the rive Galum, over which are four or five wooden bridges, and occupies in some part of its breadth, which is irregular, about two miles. The houses, many of them two and three stories high, are slightly built of brick and mortar with a large intermixture of timber. On a standing roof of wood is laid a covering of fine earth, which shelters the building from the great quantity of snow that falls in the winter season. This fence communicates an

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formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river which runs through the town by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats. In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river; and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well-built and consist of two or three stories. There is, however, plenty of very fine freestone in the country, some old buildings, and a great number of ancient pagan temples in ruins, are of stone; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers. Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties

equal warmth in winter, as a refreshing coolness in the summer season, when the tops of the houses, which are planted with a variety of flowers, exhibit at a distance the spacious view of a beautifully chequered parterre. The streets are narrow, and choked with the filth of the inhabitants, who are proverbially unclean. No buildings are seen in this city worthy of remark. The benefits which this city enjoys of a mild salubrious air, a river flowing through its centre, of many large and commodious houses are essentially alloyed by its confined construction and the extreme filthiness of the people. The covered floating baths, which are ranged along the sides of the river, give the only testimony of conveniency or order; such baths are much wanted by the Indian muhammedans, who from the climate and their religion are obliged to make frequent ablutions."

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of pleasure take place on the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure boat, thus communicating with the lake.

At an extreme end of the town, appears an isolated hill, with handsome houses on its declivity, each having a garden. Toward the summit are a mosque and hermitage, both good buildings; and the hill is crowned with a large quantity of fine trees. It forms altogether an agreeable object, and from its trees and gardens it is called, in the language of the country, Hirney Purvet or the Verdant Mountain.

Opposite to this hill is seen another, on which is also erected a small mosque with a garden and an extremely ancient building which bears evident marks of having been a pagan temple, although named Tuckt Suliman, The Throne of Solomon. The muhammedans pretend it was raised by that celebrated king, when he visited Kashmire; but I doubt whether they could prove that this country was ever honoured with his presence.*

The lake is full of islands, which are so

* The legends of the country assert, that Solomon visited this valley, and finding it covered, except the hill on which some muhammedan has dedicated a temple to king Solomon, with a noxious water which had no outlet, he opened a passage in the mountains, and gave to Kashmire its beautiful plains. Tuckt Suliman, the name bestowed by the muhammedans on the hill, forms one side of a grand portal to

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many pleasure grounds. They look beautiful and green in the midst of the water, being covered with fruit trees, and having regular walks laid out as so many bowers. In general they are surrounded by the large-leafed asp, planted at intervals of two feet. The largest of these trees may be clasped in a man's arms, but they are as high as the mast of a ship and have only a tuft of branches at the top, like the palm tree.

The declivities of the mountains beyond the lake are crowded with houses and flower gardens. The air is salubrious, and the situation considered most desirable: they abound with springs and streams of water, and command a delightful view of the lake, the islands and the town.

The most beautiful of all these gardens is one belonging to the king, called Shalimar. The entrance from the lake is through a spacious canal, bordered with green turf, and running between two rows of poplars. Its length is about five hundred paces, and it leads to a large

the lake, and on the other stands a lower hill, which, in the Hinduee is called Hirney Purvet, or the Green Hill, a name probably adopted from its being covered with gardens and orchards. On the summit of the Hirney Purvet, the Kashmirians have erected a mosque to the honour of a Muckdoom Saheb, who is as famous in their tales, as Thomas-a-Becket in those of Canterbury.—*Forster.*

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summer-house placed in the middle of the garden. A second canal, still finer than the first, then conducts you to another summer-house, at the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large freestone, and its sloping sides are covered with the same. In the middle, is a long row of jets d'eau, or water-works, fifteen paces asunder; besides which, there are, here and there, large circular basins, or reservoirs, out of which arise other jets d'eau, formed into a variety of shapes and figures.

The summer houses are placed in the midst of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between the two rows of large poplars planted on either side, They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up, or down, the canal, and two leading to bridges that connect the building with both banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre, and of four smaller apartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all the chambers are inscribed certain sentences, written in splendid Persian characters. The four doors are extremely valuable; being composed of rare and large stone, and supported by two beautiful pillars. The doors and pillars were found in some of the pagan temples demolished by Shah-Jehan, and it is impossible to estimate their value. I cannot describe the

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nature of the stone; but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of marble.*

You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with Kashmire. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains, even as far as Tartary, and over the whole of Hin-

* In the centre of the plain, as it approaches the lake one of the Delhi emperors, I believe Shah-Jehan, constructed a spacious garden, called the Shalimar, which is abundantly stored with fruit-trees and flowering shrubs. Some of the rivulets which intersect the plain, are led into a canal at the back of the garden, and flowing through its centre, or occasionally thrown into a variety of water-works, compose the chief beauty of the Shalimar. To decorate this spot, the Mogul princes of India have displayed an equal magnificence and taste; especially Jehan-Guire, who, with the enchanting Noor-Mâhil, made Kashmire his usual residence during the summer months, and largely contributed to improve its natural advantages. On arches thrown over the canal are erected at equal distances, four or five suites of apartments, each consisting of a saloon, with four rooms at the angles, where the followers of the court attend, and the servants prepare sherbets, coffee, and the hookah. The frame of the doors of the principal saloon, is composed of pieces of a stone of a black colour, streaked with yellow lines, and of a closer grain and higher polish than porphyry. They were taken, it is said, from an Hindoo temple, by one of the Mogul princes, and esteemed of great value. The Shalimar is preserved in good order.—*Forster.*

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dostan, to the island of Ceylon. It is not indeed without reason that the moguls call Kashmîre the terrestrial paradise of India, or that Acbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native princes. His son Jehan-Guire became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kashmire.*

I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the native and the Mogul poets. We were no sooner arrived, than Aureng-Zêbe received from the bards of both nations, poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted; and rewarded with kindness. They were written in a strain of extravagant hyperbole. One of them, I remember, speaking of the surrounding mountains, observed, that their extraordinary height had caused the skies to retire into the vaulted form which we see; that nature had exhausted all her skill in the creation of this

* Since the dismemberment of Kashmire from the empire of Hindostan (about the year 1754) it has been subject to the Afghans, and the country is held under a grievous oppression. In the reign of Aureng-Zêbe, when the revenue of the different portions of the empire exceeded that of the present day, the sum collected in Kashmire amounted to three and a half of lacks of rupees; but at this time not less than twenty lacks are extracted by the Afghans.—*Translator.*

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country, and rendered it inaccessible to the attack of an hostile force; because, being the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth, it was wise to preserve her in perfect peace and security, that she might exercise universal dominion without the possibility of ever being subject to any. The poet went on to say, that the summits of the higher and more distant mountains were clothed resplendently in white, and the minor and more contiguous preserved in perpetual verdure and were embellished with stately trees, because it was meet that the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth should be crowned with a diadem whose top and rays of diamonds issued from a ground of emeralds. "The poet," I remarked to my navaab, who wished me to relish these productions, "might easily have amplified his subject. He could, with a pardonable license, have included the mountainous and neighbouring regions within the kingdom of Kashmire, since it is pretended that they were once tributary to it. I mean Little Thibet, the states of Rajah Gamon, Cashgar, and Sirinagur. He might then have gone on to say, that the Ganges, the Indus, the Chunaub, and the Jumna, issue from the kingdom of Kashmire, rivers which cannot yield in beauty and importance to the Pison, the Gihon or the two other rivers spoken of in Genesis; and that it may therefore be reasonably concluded the Garden of Eden was planted in Kashmire, and not, according to the received opinion, in Armenia."

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The Kashmirians are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their palanquins, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons and various other things, are quite remarkable, and articles of Kashmire manufacture are in use in every part of India. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw any thing more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to Kashmire, and the staple commodity; that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are about a French ell and a half long, and an ell broad; ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a French foot in width. The Moguls and Indians, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured. One kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of Spain; the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called touz) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits the Great

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Thibet. The touz shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the omrahs, which cost one hundred and fifty rupees; but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats*.

Great pains have been taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra, and Lahore; but notwithstanding every possible care, they never

* The wealth and fame of Kashmire have largely arisen from the manufacture of shawls, which it holds unrivalled, and almost without participation. The wool of the shawl is not produced in the country, but brought from districts of Thibet, lying at the distance of a month's journey to the north east. It is originally of a dark grey colour, and is bleached in Kashmire by the help of a certain preparation of rice flour. The yarn of this wool is stained with such colours as may be judged the best suited for sale, and after being woven, the piece is once washed. The border, which usually displays a variety of figures and colours, is attached to the shawls, after fabrication; but in so nice a manner, that the junction is not discernable. The texture of the shawl resembles that of the shaloons of Europe, to which it has probably communicated the name. The price, at the loom, of an ordinary shawl, is eight rupees; thence, in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty; and I have seen a very fine piece sold at forty rupees the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and as the sum of one hundred rupees

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have the delicate texture and softness of the Kashmire shawls, whose unrivalled excellence may be owing to certain properties in the water of that country. The superior colours of the Masulipatam chintzes or cloths, painted by the hand, whose freshness seems to improve by washing, are also ascribed to the water peculiar to that town.

The people of Kashmire are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well made as Europeans, and their faces have neither the Tartar flat nose nor the small pig-eyes, that distinguish the natives of Cashgar, and which generally mark those of Great Thibet. The women especially are very handsome ;* and it is from this

is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments.

The oppressions of the government have reduced the commerce of Kashmire to a languid state. During their subjection to the Mogul dominion, the province contained forty thousand shawl looms, and at this day there are not sixteen thousand.—*Forster.*

* As the natives of a country lying in the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, the Kashmirian women would in Spain or the South of France, be called brunettes. But having been prepossessed with an opinion of their charms, Mr. Forster suffered a sensible disappointment. A coarseness of figure prevails among them, with broad features, and they too often have thick legs. Though excelling in their complexions, they are surpassed by the elegant form and pleasing countenance of the women of some of the western provinces of India.

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country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogul, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moguls. Unquestionably there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops. When at Lahore, I had recourse to a little artifice, often practised by the Moguls to obtain a sight of the hidden treasures; the women of that town being the finest in India, of a brown complexion, and justly renowned for their fine and slender shapes. I followed the steps of some elephants, particularly one richly harnessed, and was sure to be gratified with the sight I was in search of, because the ladies no sooner hear the tinkling of the silver bells suspended from both sides of the elephant, than they all put their heads to the windows. This is a stratagem with which I often amused myself in Kashmire, until a more satisfactory method of seeing the fair sex was devised by an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom I read the Persian poets. I purchased a large quantity of sweetmeats, and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses, to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia; rich and eager to marry. As soon as we entered a house, he distributed my sweetmeats among the children, and then every body was sure to flock around us, the

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married women and the single girls, young and old, with the twofold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many rupees out of my purse; but it left no doubt on my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kashmire as in any part of Europe.

It remains only to speak of my journey through the mountains, from Bember to this place, with which I ought perhaps to have commenced my letter;—of the little excursions I have made in the country, and finally, of all which it has been in my power to collect concerning the other mountainous tracts that encircle this kingdom.

In respect then to the route from Bember, I was surprised to find myself, on the very first night transported on a sudden, from a torrid to a temperate zone: for we had no sooner scaled that frightful wall of the world, I mean the lofty, steep, black and bare mountain of Bember, and begun the descent on the other side, than we respired a pure, mild, and refreshing air. What surprised me still more, was to find myself, as it were, transferred from India to Europe; the mountains we were traversing being covered with every one of our plants and shrubs, save the hyssop, thyme, marjorum and rosemary. I almost imagined myself in the mountains of Auvergne, in a French forest of fir, green oak, elm, and plane trees, and could not avoid feeling strongly the

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contrast between this scene and the burning fields of Hindostan, which I had just quitted and where nothing of the kind is seen.

My attention was particularly arrested by a mountain, distant between one and two days from Bember, covered on both sides with plants. The side facing the south, that is, looking toward Hindostan, is full of Indian and European plants, mingled together; but the side exposed to the north, is crowded exclusively with the vegetable productions of Europe. It would seem that one side participates equally of the air and temperature of India and Europe, and that the other feels only the milder climate of the latter quarter of the globe.

I could not avoid admiring, in the course of our march, the successive generations and decay of trees. I saw hundreds plunged and plunging into abysses, down which man never ventured, piled dead one upon another and mouldering with time; while others were shooting out of the ground, and supplying the places of those that were no more. I observed also trees consumed by fire; but I am unable to say whether they were struck by lightning, or ignited by friction, when hot and impetuous winds agitate the trees against each other, or whether, as the natives pretend, trees when grown old and dry, may ignite spontaneously.

The magnificent cascades between the rocks, increase the beauty of the scene. There is one especially, which I conceive has not its parallel.

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I observed it at a distance from the side of a high mountain. A torrent of water rolling impetuously through a long and gloomy channel, covered with trees, precipitates itself suddenly down a perpendicular rock of prodigious height, and the ear is stunned with the noise occasioned by the falling of these mighty waters. Jehan Guire erected on an adjacent rock, which was smoothed for the purpose, a large building from which the court might leisurely contemplate this stupendous work of nature, which, as well as the trees beforementioned, bears marks of the highest antiquity, and is perhaps coeval with the creation of the world.

A most fatal accident cast a gloom over these scenes and damped all our pleasure. The king was ascending the Peer-Punchal mountains, the highest of all the mountains, and from which a distant view of the kingdom of Kashmire is first obtained. He was followed by a long line of elephants, upon which sat the ladies in mikdembers and amaris. The foremost, appalled, as is supposed, by the great length and acclivity of the path before him, stepped back upon the elephant that was moving in his track; who again pushed against the third elephant, the third against the fourth, and so on until fifteen of them, incapable of turning round or extricating themselves in a road so steep and narrow fell down the precipice. Happily for the women, the place where they fell was of no great height; only three or four were killed; but there were no means of

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saving any of the elephants. Whenever these animals fall under the tremendous burthen usually placed upon their backs, they never rise again even on a good road. Two days afterward we passed that way, and I observed that some of the poor elephants still moved their trunks. The army, which had been marching four days in files through the mountains, was subjected to serious inconvenience by this disaster. The remainder of the day and the following night, were employed in rescuing the women and in saving other matters, and the troops were under the necessity of halting during the whole of that time. Nearly every man continued pent up on the same spot, for it was impossible, in many places, to advance or recede, and the porters with the tents and provisions were not within reach. My usual good fortune, however, attended me; I contrived to clamber out of the line of march and find a spot whereon I and my horse slept pretty comfortably. The servant who followed me had a small quantity of bread, which we shared. It was here, I recollect, that in stirring some stones, we found a large black scorpion, which a young Mogul of my acquaintance took up and squeezed in his hand, then in the hand of my servant, and lastly in mine, without any of us being stung. This young cavalier pretended that he had charmed the scorpion, as he had charmed many others, with a passage from the Koran; "But I will not," added he, "teach you that passage, because the occult

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power would then depart from me and rest with you, in the same manner as it left my teacher the moment he imparted the secret."

While traversing this mountain of Peer-Punchal, three things exercised my philosophical speculations. The first was that we experienced the opposite seasons of summer and winter within the same hour. In ascending, we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun, and perspired most profusely; but when we reached the summit, we found ourselves in the midst of frozen snow, through which a passage for the army had been recently cut; a small and congealed rain was falling, and the wind blew piercingly cold. The poor Indians, most of whom had never felt the severity of winter, and saw for the first time ice and snow, were in a state of great suffering and astonishment and fled with precipitation.

The second circumstance was, that within two hundred paces the wind blew from two opposite quarters. While climbing toward the summit, it blew in my face, that is, from the north; but I no sooner began to descend on the other side, than it blew on my back, that is, from the south; as if the vapours escaping from all sides, and rising to the summit of the mountain, had there condensed, and caused the wind; which equally attracted by the warm exhausted air below descended into the two opposite vallies.

The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit, who had resided on the top of this

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mountain ever since the time of Jehan Guire. Of his religion every body was ignorant; but it was said that he wrought miracles, caused strange thunders and raised storms of wind, hail, snow and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long and bushy; he had somewhat of the savage in his aspect, and was haughty in his manner of asking alms. He permitted the people to drink water out of some earthen cups placed in rows on a large stone, making signs with his hand that they should not stop, but hastily leave the summit of the mountain. The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. After I had entered his cave, and softened his countenance by means of half a rupee, which I humbly put into his hand, he informed me that noise made there stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable. It was wise in Aureng-Zêbe, he added, to be guided by his advice, and to order the army to pass with stillness and expedition. His father, Shah-Jehan, always acted with the same prudence; but Jehan Guire having upon one occasion derided his counsel, and, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance, having ordered the kettle-drums to beat and the trumpets to sound, narrowly escaped destruction.

In regard to my excursions in different parts of this kingdom, I shall begin by informing you, that we no sooner arrived in the city of Kashmire, than my navaab Danechmend-khan sent me to the farther end of the country, three short journeys

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from the capital, that I might witness the "wonders," as they are called, of a certain fountain. I was accompanied by a native, and escorted by one of my navaab's cavaliers. The "wonders" consist in this: in the month of May, when the melting of the snows has just taken place, this fountain, during the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and ebbs three times a day, —when the morning dawns, at noon and at night. Its flow generally continues three quarters of an hour, and is sufficiently abundant to fill a square reservoir ten or twelve French feet deep, and as many in length and breadth. After a lapse of fifteen days, the supply of water becomes less copious and regular, and at the expiration of a month, the spring ceases to run, unless in the time of heavy and incessant rains, when it flows with the constancy and irregularity of other fountains. The Hindoos have a temple on the side of the reservoir, dedicated to Brare, one of their deities; and hence this spring is called Send-brare, or water of Brare. Pilgrims flock from all parts to this temple, for the purpose of bathing and purifying themselves in the sacred and miraculous water. Numberless fables are founded on the origin of this fountain, which not having a shadow of truth, would be little entertaining in the recital. The five or six days that I remained in the vicinity of Send-brare were employed in endeavours to trace the cause of the "wonder." I paid considerable attention to the situation of the mountain, at whose foot is

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found the supernatural spring. With much labour and difficulty I reached the top, leaving no part unexplored, searching and prying at every step. I remarked that its length extends from north to south, and that though very near to other mountains, yet it is completely detached from any. Its form resembles an ass's back; the summit is of extreme length, but the greatest breadth is scarcely one hundred paces. One side of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, has an eastern aspect; but the sun being intercepted by the opposite mountains, does not shine upon it before eight o'clock in the morning. The western side is covered with trees and bushes.

Having made these observations, it occurred to me that this pretended wonder might be accounted for by the heat of the sun, combined with the peculiar situation and internal disposition of the mountain.

I supposed that the frozen waters which during the winter, when the whole ground is covered with snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of that portion of the mountain exposed to the morning sun, melted partially; that these waters running down, little by little, into certain beds of quick rock, and being thence conveyed toward the spring, produced the flow at noon: that the sun quitting this part of the mountain (which then becomes cool) darts its vertical beams upon the summit, melting the

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congealed waters, which descend also by slow degrees, but through different channels, into the same beds of quick rock, and are the cause of the flow at night; and finally, that the sun heating the western side of the mountain, similar effects are occasioned, and the morning flow is the consequence. That this last is slower than the others, may be accounted for by the remoteness of the western side from the spring; by its being covered with wood, and therefore more sheltered from the sun; or simply by the coldness of the night. My reasoning may derive support from the consideration that the water flows most copiously during the first days, and that having gradually diminished in quantity, it ceases to run altogether: as if the waters which had remained frozen in the earth were in greater plenty at the commencement than afterward. It may be observed too, that even at the beginning, the supply of water as to quantity is very uncertain, and that the flow is sometimes greater at noon than at night or in the morning, or in the morning, greater than that at noon; because, as I conceive, some days are hotter than others, and because clouds, sometimes rendering the heat unequal, become the cause of inequality in the water.

Returning from Send-brare, I turned a little from the high road for the sake of visiting Achiavel, a country house formerly of the kings of Kashmire and now of the Great Mogul. What principally constitutes the beauty of this place,

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is a fountain whose waters disperse themselves into a hundred canals, round the house, which is not amiss, and throughout the gardens. The spring gushes out of the earth with violence, as if it issued from the bottom of some well, and the water is so abundant that it ought rather to be called a river than a fountain. It is excellent water ,and cold as ice. The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks, and full of fruit-trees,—the apple, pear, plum, apricot and cherry. Jets d'eau in various forms and fish-ponds, are in great number, and there is a lofty cascade which in its fall takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable; especially at night, when innumerable lamps fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water.

From Achiavel I proceeded to another royal garden, embellished much in the same manner. One of its ponds contains fish so tame that they approach upon being called, or when pieces of bread are thrown into the water. The largest have gold rings, with inscriptions, through the gills, placed there, it is said, by the celebrated Noor-Mâhil, the wife of Jehan-Guire, grandfather to Aureng-Zêbe.

Danechmend-khan seemed well satisfied with the account I brought of Send-brare, and wished me to undertake another journey, that I might bear my testimony to what he called a real

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miracle, such a miracle as would induce me to renounce my religion and embrace muhammedanism. "Hasten to Barehmooleh," said he; "the distance is not greater than to Send-brare: there you will see a mosque which contains the tomb of a celebrated Pire, or holy dervise, who though dead yet miraculously cures the sick and and infirm. Perhaps you may deny the reality either of the disease or of the cure; but another miracle is wrought by the power of this holy man, which no person can see without acknowledging. There is a large round stone that the strongest man can scarcely raise from the ground, but which eleven men, after a prayer made to the saint, lift up with the tip of their eleven fingers with the same ease as they would move a piece of straw." I was not sorry for another little excursion, and set out with both my former companions. I found Barehmooleh a rather pleasant place; the mosque is a tolerable building and the saint's tomb is richly adorned. It was surrounded with a great number of people, engaged in acts of devotion, who said they were ill. Adjoining the mosque, is a kitchen, wherein I observed large boilers filled with meat and rice, which I conceived at once to be the magnet that draws the sick, and the miracle that cures them. On the other side of the mosque, are the apartments and garden of the moollahs, who pursue the even tenour of their way under the shadow of the Pire's miraculous sanctity. They

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are sufficiently zealous in celebrating his praises, but as I am always unhappy on similar occasions, he performed no miracle upon the sick while I remained at Barehmooleh. As to the round and heavy stone that was to convert me to muhammedanism, I noticed that eleven moollahs formed themselves into a circle round it, but what with their long cabayes, or vests, and the studied compactness of the circle, I had great difficulty to see the mode in which they held the stone. I watched narrowly, however, the whole of this cheating process, and although the moollahs stoutly maintained that each person used only the tip of one finger, and that the stone felt as light as a feather, yet I could clearly discover that it was not raised from the ground without a great effort, and it seemed to me that the moollahs made use of the thumb as well as of the fore-finger. Still I mixed my voice with the cries of these impostors and by-standers, exclaiming karamet! karamet!—a miracle! a miracle! I then presented them with a rupee, and assuming a look of the deepest devotion, entreated that I might have for once the distinguished honour of being among the eleven who lifted the stone. The moollahs were reluctant to comply with my request, but having presented them with a second rupee and expressed my belief in the truth of the miracle, one of them gave me up his place. No doubt they hoped that ten would be able, by an extraordinary effort, to lift the stone,

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although I contributed no other aid than the tip of my finger, and they expected to manage so adroitly that I should not discover the imposture. But they were much mortified to find that the stone, to which I persevered in applying the end of my finger only, was constantly inclining and falling towards me. I considered it prudent at last to hold it firmly with both my finger and thumb, when we succeeded, with great difficulty, to raise it to the usual height. Observing that every person looked at me with an evil eye, not knowing what to think of me and that I incurred the danger of lapidation, I continued to join in the cry of karamet, and throwing down a third rupee, stole away from the crowd. Though I had taken no refreshment since my arrival, I did not hesitate to mount my horse directly, and to quit for ever the dervise and his miracles. I availed myself of this opportunity to visit those celebrated rocks that form the outlet of all the waters of the kingdom, and to which I alluded at the commencement of this letter.

I was induced to quit the high road for the sake of approaching a large lake that I saw at some distance. It is well stocked with fish, particularly eels, and covered with ducks, wild geese and many other water birds. The governor comes hither in the winter, when these birds are in greatest plenty, to enjoy the sport of fowling. In the centre of the lake is an hermitage, with its little garden, which it is pretended floats

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miraculously upon the water. The hermit passes the whole of his life there he never leaves the place. I shall not swell the size of this letter by recounting the thousand absurd tales reported of this hermitage except it be the tradition that one of the ancient kings of Kashmire, out of mere fancy, built it upon a number of thick beams fastened together. The river which runs toward Barehmooleh passes through the middle of this lake.

Leaving this lake, I went in search of a spring, considered an object of curiosity. It bubbles gently and rises with some force, bringing with it a certain quantity of very fine sand, which returns the way it came; after which the water becomes still a moment or two without ebullition and without bringing up sand, and then bubbles as before, and with the same effect; thus continuing its motion at irregular intervals. But the wonder, they say, consists in this; that the least noise made, either by speaking, or knocking the feet against the ground, agitates the water and causes it to run and bubble in the manner described. I discovered, however, that its movements are influenced neither by speaking nor knocking, and that its action is the same whether you make a noise or are silent. As to the real cause of the water rising in this manner, I have not reflected sufficiently upon the subject to give you a satisfactory solution; unless it be

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that the sand by returning continues to obstruct the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water thus opposed and closed in, makes an effort to raise the sand and open a passage: or it may rather be, that the wind, pent in the channel of the spring, rises at intervals, as is the case in artificial springs.

When we had sufficiently examined this fountain, we ascended the mountains for the purpose of seeing an extensive lake, in which there is ice, even in summer, which the winds heap up and disperse, as in a frozen sea. We then passed through a place called Sengsafed, or White-stone, remarkable for producing in summer every kind of flower, the same as in a well-stored garden; and for a circumstance said to have been observed from time immemorial, that when many persons visit this spot and make much noise and agitate the air, a heavy shower of rain invariably descends. Whether this be generally the case or not, there can be no doubt that a few years ago, when Sengsafed was visited by Shah-Jehan, the whole party was in danger of perishing in consequence of the violent and extraordinary rains which fell, although he had issued orders that no unnecessary noise should be made. This fact will remind you of the aged hermit's conversation with me on the summit of Peer-Punchal.

I was pursuing my journey to a grotto full of wonderful congelations, two days' journey from

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Sengsafed, when I received intelligence that my navaab felt very impatient and uneasy on account of my long absence.

I regret that I can give you only imperfect and scanty information concerning the circumjacent mountains. The subject has much occupied my thoughts since my arrival in this country; but I can meet with no congenial mind, with no person of observation and research, who possesses much knowledge of the matters about which I wish to be informed. What I have learnt I shall, however, communicate.

The merchants who every year travel from mountain to mountain to collect the fine wool with which shawls are manufactured, all agree in saying that the land is very good between the mountains still dependant upon Kashmire. Among these tracts there is one whose annual tribute is paid in leather and wool, and whose women are proverbial for beauty, chastity and industry. Beyond this tract is another whose valleys are delightful and plains fertile, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricots, excellent melons and even grapes, with which good wine is made. The tribute of this tract is likewise paid in wool and leather, and it sometimes happens that the inhabitants, trusting to the inaccessible nature of the country, refuse payment; but troops always contrive to penetrate and reduce the people to submission. I learn also from the merchants, that in the more distant mountains, which have ceased to be tributary to

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Kashmire, there are other beautiful tracts and countries, where the inhabitants are white and well-formed, and remarkable for their attachment to their native land which they seldom quit. Some of these people have no king, nor even, as far as can be discovered, any religion; though certain tribes abstain from fish, and consider it unclean.

I shall add what was related to me, a few days ago, by a good old man, who married a descendant of the ancient kings of Kashmire. At the period when Jehan-Guire was making a diligent search after all persons connected with the royal family, this old man effected his escape to the mountains last mentioned, accompanied by three domestics, scarcely knowing whither he was going. Wandering from place to place, he found himself at length in the midst of a small but beautiful district, where he was no sooner known than he experienced a cordial reception. The happy man was laden with presents, and in the evening the handsomest girls were presented by their parents, and he was entreated to make his choice from them, that the country might be honoured with his offspring. My friend proceeded to another district in the vicinity and was received with equal kindness and respect: the evening ceremony differed however, in one particular; as the husbands brought their wives, not the fathers their daughters; observing that their neighbours were simpletons in having supplied him with the latter,

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because the children might not continue in their household, but must follow the foot-steps of the daughters' future husbands.

Some few years since there existed great dissensions in the royal family of Little Thibet, a country bordering on Kashmire. One of the pretenders to the crown having applied secretly to the governor of this kingdom for assistance, the latter was commanded by Shah-Jehan to afford all the succour he might need. The governor accordingly invaded Little Thibet, slew or put to flight the other competitors, and left this prince in undisputed possession of the throne, subject to an annual tribute of crystal, musk, and wool. Thus circumstanced, he has not well been able to avoid paying his personal obeisance to Aureng-Zêbe, bringing with him some of these articles as presents; but he is come with so wretched a retinue, that I should never have taken him for a person of distinguished rank. My navaab invited this personage to dinner, hoping to obtain some information concerning those mountainous regions. He informed us that his kingdom was bounded on the east by Great Thibet; that it was thirty or forty leagues in breadth; that he was very poor, notwithstanding the crystal, musk and wool, which he had in small quantities; and that the opinion generally entertained of his possessing gold mines was quite erroneous. "The country, in certain parts," he added, "produces excellent fruit, particularly melons, but the

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winters are most severe, because of the deep snows." The inhabitants heretofore were pagans, but the great majority have become muhammedan, as well as himself; of the sect of Shütes, which is that of all Persia.

He spoke also of the attempt made by Shah-Jehan, seventeen or eighteen years ago, to conquer Great Thibet, a country frequently invaded by the kings of Kashmire. The army, after a difficult march of sixteen days, through the mountains beseiged and took a fortress, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that the conquest of the kingdom would no doubt have been completed if the army had immediately crossed a certain celebrated and rapid river, and marched boldly to the capital city. The season, however, was advanced, and the governor of Kashmire, who commanded the troops, apprehending he might be overtaken by the snow, determined to retreat. He placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in the spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and Great Thibet escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring. That kingdom being threatened with war by Aureng-Zêbe, the king dispatched an ambassador when informed of the Mogul's arrival in Kashmire. The embassy was accompanied by various presents, the productions of the

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country; such as crystal, musk, a jade stone, and those valuable white tails taken from a species of cow peculiar to Great Thibet, which are attached by way of ornament to the ears of elephants. The jade stone presented upon this occasion was of an extraordinary size, and therefore very precious. These stones are in great estimation in the court of the Mogul: the colour is greenish, with white veins, and they are so hard as to be wrought only with diamond powder. Cups and vases are made of this stone. I have some of most exquisite workmanship, inlaid with strings of gold, and enriched with precious stones. The ambassador's train consisted of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, with very scanty beards like the Chinese, and common red bonnets, such as our seamen wear. The remainder of the apparel was worthy of the bonnets. I rather think that four or five of these gentlemen wore swords, but the others followed the ambassador without staves or sticks. He entered into a negociation with Aureng-Zêbe, and promised on the part of his master that a mosque should be built in the capital, wherein prayers in the Muhammedan form should be offered; that the coin should bear on one side the impress of Aureng-Zêbe; and that the Mogul should receive an annual tribute. But no person doubts that this treaty will be totally disregarded as soon as Aureng-Zêbe has quitted Kashmire, and that the king of Great Thibet will no more fulfil its stipulations

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than he did those of the treaty concluded between him and Shah-Jehan.

There was in the suite of the ambassador a physician, said to be from the kingdom of Lissa, and of the Lamy or Loma tribe; a tribe which is the depositary of the law in Lissa, as that of the brahmins is in India. This tribe of Lama, unlike the brahmins, has a calif or pontiff recognised as such not only in the kingdom of Lissa, but over the whole of Tartary, and is honoured and reverenced as a divine personage. The physician had a book of receipts which I could not persuade him to sell; the writing at a distance looked something like ours. We induced him to write down the alphabet, but he did this with so much difficulty, and his writing was so wretchedly bad, that we pronounced him an ignoramus. He was an ardent believer in metempsychosis, and entertained us with wonderful tales. Among others he mentioned that when his grand lama was very old and on the point of death, he assembled the council, and declared to them that his soul was going to pass into the body of an infant recently born. The child was nourished with tender care; and when he had attained his sixth or seventh year, a large quantity of household furniture and wearing apparel was placed before him, and he had the sagacity to discern which part was his own property, and which was not; a decisive proof, the physician observed, how true is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. At first, I thought

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the man was speaking in irony, but I soon discovered that he was perfectly serious. One day I went to see him at the ambassador's, taking a Kashmirian merchant with me as an interpreter. My pretext was the purchase of some woollen cloths which he had for sale, but the real object of the visit was to obtain information concerning those imperfectly known regions. But I learnt little or nothing new: he only said generally that Great Thibet would bear no comparison with his own country; that the latter was covered with snow more than five months in the year, and that it was frequently engaged in war with the Tartars; but which Tartars these were he could not say. At length I found that the time passed with this man was misspent, for he was incapable of answering any one of the numerous questions I intended to ask.

It is not twenty years since caravans went annually from Kashmire to China. They used to traverse the mountains of Great Thibet, enter Tartary, and reach China in about three months. It is an extremely difficult road, and there are impetuous torrents that can be crossed only by means of cords extended from rock to rock. The caravans returned from China with musk, China-wood, rhubarb and mamiron, a small root in great repute for the cure of bad eyes; and in repassing Great Thibet they farther loaded themselves with the produce of that country, such as musk, crystal, jade stones and espe-

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cially with the wool of sheep and wild-goats. This latter, which is known by the name of touz, resembles, as already observed, the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool. But since Shah-Jehan's irruption into Great Thibet, the king has not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbidden any person from Kashmire to enter his dominions. This is the reason why the caravans now take their departure from Patna, on the Ganges; they leave Great Thibet on the left and proceed directly to the kingdom of Lissa.

In regard to the kingdom known here by the name of Kacheguer, which is probably the same as our maps call Kascar*, I shall relate all the information I have collected from merchants, natives of that country, who when they heard that Aureng-Zêbe intended to visit Kashmire, brought into this kingdom, for sale, a great number of young slaves, girls and boys.

They say that Kacheguer lies to the east of Kashmire, inclining somewhat to the northward; that the shortest route from one kingdom to the other, is through Great Thibet, but that passage being now shut, they were under the necessity of taking the road of Little Thibet. The first town they passed, in returning, was Gourtche, the last town dependant upon Kashmire, and four days' journey from the city of Kashmire: from Gourtche, they were eight days

* The name is now generally written Cashgar.—*Translator.*

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in reaching Eskerdou, the capital of Little Thibet; and in two days more they came to a small town called Cheker, also within the territory of Little Thibet, and situated on a river celebrated for its medicinal waters. In fifteen days, they came to a large forest, on the confines of Little Thibet, and in fifteen days more they arrived at Kacheguer, a small town which was formerly the royal residence, though now the king of Kacheguer resides at Jourcend, a little more to the north, and ten days' journey from Kacheguer. These merchants added that the distance from the town of Kacheguer to China is not more than two months' voyage; that caravans go thither every year, which return laden with the articles I have enumerated, and proceed to Persia by way of Usbec; as there are others that go from China to Patna, in Hindostan. They also informed me that the way from Kacheguer to China is through a small town eight days' journey from Coten, and that Coten is the last town on that side in the kingdom of Kacheguer. The road from Kashmire to Kacheguer, they said, is extremely bad, and among other difficult paths, there is a place where, in every season, you must go a quarter of a league over ice. This, my dear sir, is all the information I could extract from these people, whose ignorance is deplorable. Intelligence obtained from such a source could not be otherwise than scanty and confused, and I had also to do with interpreters who experienced the utmost

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difficulty both in clearly stating my interrogatories, and in explaining satisfactorily the answers.

Here I intended to close this letter, or rather this book, and take my leave of you until our return to Delhi; but my inclination for writing is still strong, and I enjoy some leisure. I shall endeavour, therefore, to answer five questions of the industrious and inquisitive Mr. Thevenot, who makes greater and more important discoveries in his study than others who circumnavigate the globe.

His first enquiry is, whether it be true that Jews have during a long period resided in the kingdom of Kashmire: whether they be in possession of the Holy Scriptures, and, if so, whether there be any discrepancy between their Old Testament, and our own.

The second request is, that I communicate whatever observations I may have made concerning the monsoon, or periodical rains in India.

The third, that I make him acquainted with my remarks and opinions upon the singular regularity of the winds and currents in the seas of this part of the world.

The fourth, whether the kingdom of Bengal be as fertile, rich and beautiful, as is commonly imagined.

The fifth, that I give a decisive opinion on the old controversies as to the causes of the Nile's increase.

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ANSWER

TO

THE FIRST ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE JEWS.

I SHOULD be as much pleased as Mr. Thevenot himself if Jews were found in these mountainous regions; I mean such Jews as he would no doubt desire to find,—Jews descended from the tribes transported by Shalmaneser; but you may assure that gentleman that although there seems ground for believing some of them were formerly settled in these countries, yet the whole population is at present either pagan or muhammedan. In China, indeed, there are probably people of that nation, for I have lately seen letters in the hands of our reverend father the jesuit of Delhi, written by a German jesuit at Pekin, wherein he states that he had conversed with Jews in that city, who adhered to the forms of Judaism and retained the books of the Old Testament. They were totally ignorant of the death of Jesus Christ, and had expressed a wish to appoint the Jesuit their Kakan, if he would abstain from swine's flesh.

There, are however, many marks of Judaism to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom, after crossing the Peer-Punchal mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that

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ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our father the jesuit, and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kashmire.*

A second mark is the prevalence of the name of Mousa, which means Moses, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all muhammedans.

A third, is the common tradition that Solomon visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters, by cutting the mountain of Barehmooleh.

A fourth, the belief that Moses died in the city of Kashmire, and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills, was built by Solomon; and it is therefore called The Throne of Solomon to this day.

You will see then, my dear Sir, I am not disposed to deny that Jews may have taken up their residence in Kashmire. The purity of their law, after a lapse of ages, may have been corrupted,

* George Forster, in a letter written at Kashmire, in the year 1783, says, that on first seeing the Kashmirians in their own country, he imagined from their garb, the cast of countenance, which is long and of a grave aspect, and the form of their beards, that he had come among a nation of Jews.

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until having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like many other pagans, to adopt the creed of Muhammed.

It is certain that many Jews are settled in Persia, at Lar and Ispahan; and in Hindostan, in the parts of Goa and Cochin. I also learn that in Ethiopia, where they are very numerous, these people are remarkable for courage and military prowess; and if I am to believe two ambassadors from the Ethiopian king, lately at this court, there was a Jew, fifteen or sixteen years ago, grown so formidable, that he endeavoured to erect an independent kingdom in a certain small and mountainous district, difficult of access.

ANSWER TO THE SECOND ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE PERIODICAL RAINS IN INDIA.

The sun is so strong and violent in India during the whole year, particularly during eight months, that the ground would be completely burnt, and rendered steril and uninhabitable, if Providence did not kindly provide a remedy, and wisely ordain that in the month of July, when the heat is most intense, rains begin to fall, which continue three successive months. The temperature of the air thus becomes supportable, and the earth is

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rendered fruitful. These rains are not, however, so exactly regular as to descend undeviatingly on the same day or week. According to the observations I have made in various places, particularly in Delhi, where I resided a long time, they are never the same two years together. Sometimes they commence or terminate a fortnight or three weeks sooner or later, and one year they may be more abundant than another. I have even known two entire years pass without scarcely a drop of rain, and the consequences of that extraordinary drought were wide-spreading sickness and famine. It should be observed too, that the rainy season is earlier or later, and more or less plentiful, in different countries, in proportion to their proximity or remoteness from one another. In Bengal, for instance, and along the Coast of Coromondel, as far as the Island of Ceylon, the rains begin and end a month sooner than toward the Coast of Malabar; and in Bengal they fall very violently for four months, in the course of which it sometimes pours during eight days and nights without the least intermission. In Delhi and Agra, however, the rains are neither so abundant nor of such long continuance; two or three days often elapsing without the slightest shower; and from dawn of day to nine or ten o'clock in the morning, it commonly rains very little, and sometimes not at all. It struck me very particularly, that the rains come from different quarters in different countries. In the neighbourhood of Delhi, they come from the

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east, where Bengal is situated; in the province of Bengal, and on the Coast of Coromondel, from the south; and on the coast of Malabar, almost invariably from the west.

I have also remarked one thing, about which, indeed, there is a perfect agreement of opinion in India;—that according as the heat of summer comes earlier or later, is more or less violent, or lasts a longer or shorter time; so the rains come sooner or later, are more or less abundant, and continue a longer or a shorter period.

From these observations I have been led to believe that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air, are the principal causes of these rains, which they attract. The atmosphere of the circumjacent seas being colder, more condensed and thicker, is filled with clouds drawn from the water by the great heat of the summer, and which, driven and agitated by the winds, discharge themselves naturally upon land, where the atmosphere is hotter, more rarefied, lighter and less resisting than on the sea; and thus this discharge is more or less tardy and plentiful, according as the heat comes early or late, and is more or less intense.

It is also agreeable to the observations contained in this dissertation, to suppose that if the rains commence sooner on the Coast of Coromondel than on the Coast of Malabar, it is only because the summer is earlier; and that it is earlier may be owing to particular causes which it would not perhaps be difficult to ascertain if the country were properly examined. We know that according to

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the different situations of lands, in respect of seas or mountains, and in proportion as they are sandy, hilly, or covered with wood, summer is felt more or less early, and with greater or lesser violence.

Nor is it surprising that the rains come from different quarters; that on the Coast of Coromondel, for example, they come from the south, and on the Malabar Coast from the west; because it is apparently the nearest sea which sends the rain; and the sea nearest the Coromondel Coast, and to which it is more immediately exposed, lies to the south; as the sea which washes the coast of Malabar is to the west, extending itself towards Babelmandel, Arabia and the Persian gulf.

I have imagined, in fine, that although we see at Delhi the rainy clouds come from the east, yet their origin may be in the seas which lie to the south of that city: and being intercepted by some mountains or lands whose atmosphere is colder, more condensed and resisting, they are forced to turn aside and discharge themselves in a country where the air is more rarefied, and which consequently offers less resistance.

I had almost forgotten to notice another fact which fell under my observation while living in Delhi. There never falls any heavy rain until a great quantity of clouds have passed, during several days, to the westward; as if it were necessary that the expanse of atmosphere to the west of Delhi, should be first filled with clouds, and that those clouds finding some impediment, such as air less hot and less rarefied, and therefore more con-

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needs and more capable of resistance; or encountering other clouds and contrary winds, they become so thick, overcharged and heavy, as to burst and descend in rain; in the same manner as it happens when clouds are driven by the wind against some mountain.

ANSWER

TO

THE THIRD ENQUIRY WHICH RELATES TO THE REGULARITY OF THE CURRENTS AND WINDS IN INDIA.

As soon as the rains cease; which happens commonly about the beginning of October, the sea takes its course toward the south and the cold north wind rises. This wind continues four or five months without any intermission. It blows the whole of this time with equal force, unattended with tempests, and always from the same quarter, excepting sometimes for a single day when it changes or lulls. After the expiration of this period, the winds blow for about two months without any regularity. This is called the intermediate season, and by the Dutch, the time of the doubtful and variable winds. These two months being passed, the sea resumes its course from the south to the north, and the south wind commences and continues to blow and the current continues to run

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four or five months from the same quarter. There then elapse about two months more, which constitute the other intermediate season. In these intervals navigation is extremely difficult and perilous, but during the two seasons it is very easy, pleasant and safe, excepting only the latter part of the south-wind season. It ought not, therefore, to excite your surprise, that the Indians, who are a very timid people, and ignorant of the art of navigation, undertake pretty long and important voyages; such as from Bengal to Tannasar, Acheen, Malacca, Siam and Madagascar, or to Masulipatam, Ceylon, the Maldives, Mokha and Bender-Abbassy. They are of course very careful to avail themselves of the favourable season for going and the favourable season for returning. It often happens, however, that they are detained beyond the proper time, overtaken by bad weather and wrecked. This is indeed sometimes the case with Europeans, who are much bolder and more skilful, and the condition and equipment of whose vessels are so greatly superior. Of the two intermediate seasons, the one which follows the south wind is without comparison the more dangerous, being much more subject to storms and sudden squalls. That wind, even during the season, is generally more impetuous and unequal than the north wind. I must not omit to notice in this place, that toward the end of the south-wind season, and during the rains, although there be a perfect calm out at sea, yet near the coasts, for a distance of fifteen or

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twenty leagues, the weather is extremely tempestuous. The captains of European and other vessels, should consequently be careful to approach the Indian coast, that of Surat or Masulipatam, for instance, just after the termination of the rains: otherwise they incur great risk of being dashed on shore.

Such is the order of the seasons in India, so far at least as my observations justify me in speaking upon the subject. I wish it were in my power to trace every effect to its true cause; but how unsearchable frequently are the ways of Providence! I have imagined, in the first place, that the air by which our globe is surrounded, ought to be considered one of its component parts, just as much as the waters of the sea and rivers; because both the one and the other gravitating on this globe, and tending to the same common centre, are in this manner united to our sphere. The globe then is formed of three bodies,—air, water, and earth. Secondly, our globe being suspended and balanced in that free and unresisting space wherein it pleased the Creator to place it, would be easily displaced if it came in contact with any unknown body. Thirdly, the sun, after having crossed the line, while moving toward one of the poles, towards the arctic pole, for example, darting its beams that way, produces sufficient impression to depress in some measure the arctic pole, which is depressed more and more in proportion as the sun advances towards the tropic; and in the same

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manner, the sun permits it again to rise gradually in proportion as it returns toward the line; until the same effect is produced by the power of its rays on the side of the antarctic pole.

Taking for granted the truth of these suppositions and considering them conjointly with the diurnal motion of the earth, it is not without reason that the Indians affirm that the sun conducts and draws along with it both the sea and the wind; because, if it be true that, having passed the line on its way toward one of the poles, the sun causes a change in the direction of the earth's axis and a depression of the pole, it follows as a necessary consequence, that the other pole is elevated, and that the sea and air, which are two fluid and heavy bodies, run in this declension. It is therefore correct to say, that the sun advancing toward one pole, causes on that side two great and regular currents,—the current of the sea and the current of the air, which latter constitutes the monsoon wind; as the sun is the cause of two opposite currents when it returns toward the other pole.

Upon this theory it may, I think, be said that there are only two main and contrary flows of the sea, one from the northern and the other from the southern pole; that if there existed a sea from one pole to the other, which passed through Europe, we should there find these two currents regulated in every respect as in India, and that the reason why this regularity is not general

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is that the seas are intercepted by lands, which obstruct, break and diversify their course; in the same manner as some persons allege that the usual flux and reflux of the sea is prevented in those seas which, like the Mediterranean, extend in length from east to west. According to this theory, it might also, in my opinion, be maintained that there are only two principal and opposite currents of air or wind, and that in regard to them the same regularity would reign generally, if the earth were also perfectly and generally smooth, equal and similar.

ANSWER
TO
THE FOURTH ENQUIRY, AS TO THE FERTILITY, WEALTH AND BEAUTY OF THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

EGYPT has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature: but the knowledge I have acquired of Bengal during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengal. The latter country produces rice in such abundance that its supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. It is carried up the Ganges as far as Patna, and

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exported by sea to Masulipatam and many other ports on the coast of Coromondel. It is also sent to foreign kingdoms, principally to the island of Ceylon and the Maldives. Bengal abounds likewise in sugar with which it supplies the kingdoms of Golconda and the Carnatic, where very little is grown, Arabia and Mesopotamia, through the towns of Mokha and Bassora, and even Persia, by way of Bender-Abbassy. Bengal likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats, especially in places inhabited by Portuguese, who are skilful in the art of preparing them, and with whom they are an article of considerable trade. Among other fruits, they preserve large citrons, such as we have in Europe, a certain delicate root about the length of sarsaparilla, amba and pine-apples, two common fruits of India small mirobolan plums, which are excellent; lemons and ginger.

Bengal, it is true, yields not so much wheat as Egypt; but if this be a defect, it is attributable to the inhabitants, who live a great deal more upon rice than the Egyptians, and seldom taste bread. Nevertheless, wheat is cultivated in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the country, and for the making of excellent and cheap sea biscuits, with which the crews of European ships, English, Dutch and Portuguese, are supplied. The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter, form the chief aliment of the common people, are pur-

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chased for the merest trifle, and for a single rupee twenty or more good fowls may be bought. Geese and ducks are proportionably cheap. There are also goats and sheep in abundance; and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the Portuguese, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork. This meat is salted at a cheap rate by the Dutch and English, for the supply of their respective vessels. Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, Bengal abounds with every necessary of life; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, half-casts, and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. The Jesuits and Augustins, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unmolested exercise of their religion, assured me that Hoogly alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five and twenty thousand. The rich exuberance of the country, together with the beauty and amiable dispositions of the native women, has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which

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may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindostan only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Dutch alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengal for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabul, and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent. The silks are not certainly so fine as those of Persia, Syria, Said and Baruth, but they are of a much lower price; and I know from indisputable authority that, if they were well selected and wrought with care, they might be manufactured into most beautiful stuffs. The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazar. The English and other merchants employ likewise a great number.

Bengal is also the principal emporium for saltpetre. A prodigious quantity is imported from Patna. It is carried down the Ganges with

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great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of India, and to Europe.

Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best gum-lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper and various drugs, are obtained; and butter which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.

It is fair to acknowledge, however, that strangers seldom find the air salubrious, particularly near the sea. There was a great mortality among the Dutch and English when they first settled in Bengal; and I saw in Balasore two beautiful English vessels, which had remained in that port a twelvemonth in consequence of the war with Holland, and at the expiration of that period, were unable to put to sea, because the greater part of the crews had died. Both the English and Dutch now live with more caution and the mortality is diminished. The masters of vessels take care that their crews drink less punch; nor do they permit them so frequently to visit the Indian women, or the dealers in arrack and tobacco. Good Vin de Grave or Canary and Schiraz wines, taken in moderation, are found excellent preservatives against the effects of bad air. Their punch composed of arrack, a spirit distilled from molasses, lemon juice, water and nutmeg.

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It is pleasant enough to the taste, but most deleterious in the effects.

In describing the beauty of Bengal, it should be remarked that throughout a country extending nearly an hundred leagues in length, on both banks of the Ganges, from Raja-Mâhil to the sea, is an endless number of canals, cut from that river with immense labour, for the conveyance of merchandise and of the water itself, which is reputed by the Indians to be superior to any in the world. These canals are lined on both sides with towns and villages, thickly peopled with pagans; and with extensive fields of rice, sugar, corn and other species of vegetables, mustard, sesame for oil, and small mulberry trees, two or three French feet in height, for the food of silk worms. But the most striking and peculiar beauty of Bengal is the innumerable islands filling the vast space between the two banks of the Ganges, in some places six or seven days' journey asunder. These islands vary in size, but are all extremely fertile, surrounded with wood, and abounding in fruit trees, and pine-apples, and covered with verdure; a thousand canals run through them, stretching beyond the sight, and resembling long walks arched with trees. Several of the islands, nearest to the sea, are now abandoned by the inhabitants, who were exposed to the attacks and ravages of the Arracan pirates, spoken of in another place. At present

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they are a dreary waste, wherein no living creature is seen except antelopes, wild hogs, fowls and tigers, which sometimes swim from one island to another. In traversing the Ganges in small rowing boats, the usual mode of conveyance among these islands, it is in many places, dangerous to land, and great care must be had that the boat, which during the night is fastened to a tree, be kept at some distance from the shore, for it constantly happens that some person or another falls a prey to tigers. These ferocious animals are very apt, it is said, to enter into the boat itself, while the people are asleep, and to carry away some victim, who, if we are to believe the boatmen of the country, generally happens to be the stoutest and fattest of the party.

I remember a nine days' voyage that I made from Pipley to Hoogly, among these islands and canals, which I cannot omit relating, as no day passed without some extraordinary accident or adventure. When my seven-oared boat had conveyed us out of the river of Pipley, and we had advanced three or four leagues at sea, along the coast, on our way to the islands and canals, we saw the sea covered with fish, apparently large carp, which were pursued by a great number of dolphins. I desired my men to row that way, and perceived that most of them were lying on their side as if they had been dead; some moved slowly along, and others seemed to be

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struggling and turning about as if stupified. We caught four and twenty with our hands, and observed that out of the mouth of every one, protuberated a bladder, like that of a carp, which was full of air and of a reddish colour at the end. I easily conceived that it was this bladder which prevented the fish from sinking, but could never understand why it thus protruded, unless it were that having been long and closely pursued by the dolphins, they made such violent efforts to escape, that the bladder swelled, became red, and was forced out of the mouth. I have recounted this circumstance to a hundred sailors, whom I found incredulous; with the exception, indeed, of a Dutch pilot, who informed me that sailing in a large vessel along the coasts of China, his attention was arrested by a similar appearance, and that putting out their boat they caught, as we did, with only their hands, many of the fish.

The day following we arrived, at rather a late hour, among the islands; and having chosen a spot that appeared free from tigers, we landed and lighted a fire. I ordered a couple of fowls and some of the fish to be dressed, and we made an excellent supper. The fish was delicious. I then re-embarked, and ordered my men to row on till night. There would have been danger in losing our way in the dark among the different canals, and therefore we retired out of the great canal in search of a snug creek, where we passed the night; the boat being fastened to a thick branch

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of a tree, at a prudent distance from the shore. While keeping watch, I observed a strange appearance in the heavens, such as I had seen twice at Delhi. I beheld a lunar rainbow, and awoke the whole of my company, who all expressed much surprise, especially two Portuguese pilots, whom I had received into the boat at the request of a friend. They declared that they had neither seen nor heard of such a rainbow.

The third day, we lost ourselves among the canals, and I know not how we should have recovered our right course, had we not met with some Portuguese, who were employed in making salt on one of the islands. This night again, our boat being under shelter in a small canal, my Portuguese, who were full of the strange appearance on the preceding night, and kept their eyes constantly fixed toward the heavens, roused me from my sleep and pointed out another rainbow as beautiful and as well defined as the last. You are not to imagine that I mistake a halo for an iris. I am familiar with the former, because during the rainy season at Delhi, there is scarcely a month in which a halo is not frequently seen round the moon. But they appear only when that luminary is very high above the horizon: I have observed them three and four nights successively, and sometimes I have seen them doubled. The iris of which I speak, was not a circle about the moon, but was placed in an opposite direction, in the same relative position as a solar rainbow. Whenever I have seen a night

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iris, the moon has been at the west and the iris at the east. The moon was also nearly complete in its orb, because otherwise the beams of light would not, I conceive be sufficiently powerful to form the rainbow; nor was the iris so white as the halo, but more strongly marked, and a variety of colours was even discernible. Thus you see, that I am more happy than the ancients, who, according to Aristotle, had remarked no lunar rainbows before his time.

In the evening of the fourth day we withdrew, as usual, out of the grand canal to a place of security, and passed a most extraordinary night. Not a breath of wind was felt, and the air became so hot and suffocating, that we could scarcely respire. The bushes around us were so full of glow-worms that they seemed ignited; and fires resembling flames, arose every moment to the great alarm of our sailors, who did not doubt that they were so many devils. Two of these luminous appearances were very remarkable. One was a great globe of fire, which continued longer than the time necessary to repeat a pater-noster, the other looked like a small tree all in flames, and lasted above a quarter of an hour.

The night of the fifth day was altogether dreadful and perilous. A storm arose so violent, that although we were, as we thought, in excellent shelter under trees, and our boat carefully fastened, yet our cable was broken, and we

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should have been driven into the great canal there inevitably to perish, if I and my two Portuguese had not, by a sudden and spontaneous movement, entwined our arms round the branches of trees, which we held tightly for the space of two hours, while the tempest was raging with unabated force. No assistance was to be expected from my Indian boatmen, whose fears completely overcame them. Our situation while clinging for our lives to the trees was indeed most painful; the rain fell as if poured into the boat from buckets, and the lightning and thunder were so vivid and loud and so near our heads, that we despaired of surviving this horrible night,

Nothing however could be more pleasant that the remainder of the voyage. We arrived at Hoogly on the ninth day, and my eyes seemed never sated with gazing on the delightful country through which we passed. My trunk, however, and all my wearing-apparel were wet, the poultry dead, the fish spoilt, and the whole of my biscuits soaked with rain.

ANSWER

TO

THE FIFTH ENQUIRY, CONCERNING THE INCREASE OF THE NILE.

I KNOW not whether my solution of this fifth question will be satisfactory; but I shall impart

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opinions formed after having been twice a witness of the increase, after having given to the subject the whole of my attention, and after making certain observations in India which afford some facilities for the disquisition, which must have been wanting to the great man who has written so ingeniously and learnedly on this interesting topic, although he never saw Egypt but in his study.

I have already mentioned, that while the two Ethiopian ambassadors were at Delhi, my aga, Danechmend-khan, whose thirst for knowledge is incessant, invited them frequently to his house, and that I was always one of the party. His object was to be made acquainted with the state of their country, and the nature of its government. Among other subjects, we spoke a great deal about the source of the Nile, which is called by them Abbabile. They spoke of its source as of a thing generally well known, and concerning which no one entertained any doubt. One of the ambassadors had even seen it, accompanied by a Mogul who had returned with him to Hindostan. They told us that the source of the river Nile is in the country of the Agows; that it gushes out of the earth by two large and bubbling springs near one another and forming a small lake of about thirty or forty paces in length; that the river issuing from this lake is of considerable size, and that in its progress it receives many tributary waters, which swell it to an important stream. They went on to observe, that this stream pursues

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a winding course, and forms an extensive peninsula; and that after descending from several steep rocks, it falls into a large lake, in the country of Dembea, only four or five days' journey from the source, and three short journeys from Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia; that having traversed this lake, the river leaves it, with the accession of all the waters which fall into the lake; passes through Sennaar, the chief city of the Fungi or Berberis, tributaries to the king of Ethiopia, whence tumbling among the cataracts, it pursues its way into the plains of Missir or Egypt.

When the ambassadors had furnished these particulars as to the source and course of the Nile, I wished to form some idea of the situation of the country where the source is found: I therefore enquired in what part of Africa, relatively to Babelmandel, Dembea, is situated. But they could return no other answer than that it lay toward the west. I was surprised to hear this observation, especially from the muhammedan ambassador, who ought to be better informed than a Christian of the relative bearings of places, because all muselmans are bound, when repeating their prayers, to look toward Mecca. He also persisted in saying that Dembea is situated to the west of Babelmandel; so that the source of the river Nile, according to these ambassadors, is considerably to the north of the equator, and not to the south, where it is placed by Ptolemy, and in all our maps.

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We inquired further of these gentlemen when it rained in Ethiopia, and whether the rains were periodical in that country as in Hindostan. They answered that it seldom or never rained along the coast of the Red Sea, from Suakin, Arkeeko and the island of Masuah, to Babelmandel, any more than at Mokha, in Arabia Felix, on the opposite shore of that sea. In the interior of the country, however, in the province of the Agows, in Dembea, and the circumjacent provinces, the rains were very heavy during the two hottest months of summer, those months when it also rains in India, and exactly the time when, according to my computation, the increase of the Nile in Egypt takes place. They were quite aware, the ambassadors added, that the swelling of that river and the inundations of Egypt were caused by the rains of Ethiopia; and that the former country owed its fecundity to the slime conveyed and deposited thither by the Nile. It was from these circumstances, they observed, that the kings of Ethiopia derived the right of exacting tribute from Egypt; and when that kingdom was subdued by the muhammedans, and its Christian population became oppressed and exposed to every indignity, the Ethiopian monarch had thoughts of turning the course of the river toward the Red Sea, a measure which would have destroyed the fertility of Egypt, and consequently proved ruinous to the country: but the project appeared so gigantic, if not impracticable, that

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the attempt was never made to carry it into execution.

All these particulars I had already been made acquainted with when at Mokha, in the course of various conversations with ten or a dozen Gondar merchants, sent every year to that city by the King of Ethiopia for purposes of traffic with the vessels from India. The information is useful, as tending to demonstrate that the Nile increases only by means of the rains which fall near its source and at a distance from Egypt. But I attach still greater importance to my own observations, made upon two separate occasions during the overflowing of that river, because they detect the fallacy of some popular opinions, and prove them to be merely vulgar and idle tales, the inventions of a people much given to superstition and lost in astonishment at witnessing the increase of a river during the heat of summer, in a country where rain is unknown. I allude, among other conceits, to the notion that there is a certain determinate day on which the Nile begins its increase; that a particular dew, called the goute, falls on this first day of the increase, which puts an end to the plague, no person dying of that disease when the goute has begun to descend; and that the overflowing of the Nile is owing to particular and secret causes. I have discovered that this celebrated stream, like other rivers, swells and overflows in consequence of abundant rains, and that we are not to ascribe its increase to the fermentation of the nitrous soil of Egypt.

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I have seen it swell more than a French foot, and very turbid, nearly a month before the pretended determinate day of the increase.

I have remarked, in the time of its augmentation and before the opening of the canals, that after the water had swollen during some days a foot or two, it decreased little by little, and then began to increase anew; and in this manner the river augmented or lessened, just according as the rains did or did not fall near its source. The same thing is observable in our Loire; it increases or diminishes in proportion to the rains on the mountains whence that river flows.

Once, on my return from Jerusalem, I ascended the Nile from Damietta to Cairo, about a month before the day on which it is said that the goute falls; and in the morning our clothes were soaked in consequence of the dew that had fallen during the night.

I supped with M. de Bermon, our vice-consul at Rosetta, eight or ten days after the fall of the goute. Three of the party were that same evening seized with the plague, of whom two died on the eighth day; and the other patient, who happened to be M. de Bermon himself, would perhaps have fallen a victim to the disease if I had not ventured to prescribe a remedy, and lanced his abscess. I caught the infection, and but for the butter of antimony* to which I had immedi-

* Or, according to the modern medical nomenclature sublimated muriate of antimony.

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are recourse, it might have been seen in my case, also, that men die of the plague after the descent of the goute. My emetic, taken at the commencement of the disorder, peformed wonders, and I was not confined to the house more than three or four days. A Bedouin servant attended me; he endeavoured to preserve my spirits by swallowing, without a moment's hesitation, what remained of my broth; and being a predestinarian, he laughed at the idea of danger from the plague.

I am far from denying that this distemper is generally attended with less danger after the fall of the goute. All I maintain is, that the decrease of danger should not be attributed to the goute. In my opinion the mitigation of the disease is owing to the heat of the weather, then become intense, which opens the pores and expels the pestiferous and malignant miasmata that remained confined in the body.

Moreover I have carefully enquired of several rays, or masters of boats, who have ascended the Nile to the extremity of the plains of Egypt, as far as the rocks and cataracts. They assured me that when the river overflows the Egyptian plains the soil of which is represented as nitrous and fermentative, the Nile is greatly increased between the mountains of the cataracts, which it inundates in a surprising manner, although the soil upon those mountains is not apparently impregnated with nitre.

I was also very particular in making the ne-

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cessary enquiries of the Sennaar negroes who repair to Cairo for employment and whose country, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, is situated on the Nile among the mountainous tracts to the south of Egypt. These negroes all agreed in asserting that at the time when the Nile inundates the plains of Egypt, it is swollen and impetuous in their own country, because of the rains which then fall, not only in their mountains, but higher up, in the region of the Habesh or Ethiopia.

The observations made by me on the periodical rains of India, which fall during the time that the Nile is increasing in Egypt, throw considerable light upon this subject, and will lead you to imagine that the Indus, the Ganges and all the other rivers in this part of the globe are so many rivers Nile, and the countries contiguous to their mouths, so many lands of Egypt. Such were the ideas which suggested themselves to my mind when in Bengal, and the following are the very words which I then wrote concerning this matter.

The numerous islands in the gulf of Bengal, at the mouth of the Ganges, which the course of ages has united together, and at length has joined to the continent, recall to my mind the mouths of the river Nile. When in Egypt, I remarked the same process of nature; and as it is often said, in the language of Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so may it be observed that Bengal is the production of the Ganges. There is only this difference between

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the two rivers, that the Ganges being incomparably larger than the Nile, it carries toward the sea a much greater quantity of earth, and thus forms a more considerable number of islands, and of superior size, than the Nile. The islands of the Nile too are destitute of trees; but those of the Ganges are all covered with them, owing to the four months of regular and excessive rains that fall in the midst of summer. These rains obviate the necessity of cutting canals in Bengal, as is done in Egypt, for the purpose of irrigating and enriching the land. They could indeed be made with as much facility in the one country as in the other, the Ganges and other rivers of Hindostan, increasing, the same as the Nile, in summer, in consequence of the rains which regularly fall at that season. There is this difference between the two countries; that in Egypt no rain is known, neither in summer, nor scarcely at any other time, excepting occasionally in a small quantity toward the sea. It is only near the source of the Nile, in Ethiopia, that rain falls; whereas in India it rains periodically in countries through which rivers flow. It should be observed, however, that this is not the case universally; for in the kingdom of Sindy, toward the Persian gulf, where the mouth of the Indus is situated, there are years during which no rain whatever falls, although the Indus be greatly swollen. The fields are then irrigated, as in Egypt, by means of kalis or canals.

In regard to the wish expressed by Mr.

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Thevenot, that I should send you a detailed narration of my adventures and observations in the Red Sea, at Suez, Tor, Mount Sinai, Jidda, (in that pretended holy land, half a day's journey from Mecca), in the island of Camaran and at Loheia, it is my intention to gratify that wish, when I find leisure to decipher my manuscripts. I hope also to communicate all the information which I obtained at Mokha concerning Ethiopia, and the best route for entering that kingdom.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

THE Egyptians and Phenicians, the most ancient navigators mentioned in history, are represented as the first people of the west who opened a communication by sea with India,* and Herodotus is the earliest historian who gives any account of this country; but he seems to have been acquainted only with the western parts, which were tributary to Persia. The aversion of the Indians themselves to disclose the annals of their history, which are interspersed with their religious tenets, has involved their transactions, in ancient times, in impenetrable darkness, and the only light to conduct us through the obscure paths of their antiquities, we derive from an historical poem, translated into the Persian language in the reign of Acbar.†

* The Tyrians kept up a constant intercourse with some parts of India, by navigating the Arabian gulf, now called the Red Sea. Hindostan was called India by the Greeks, a term derived, it is thought, from Hind, a supposed son of Ham, the son of Noah. The termination *Stan* signifies country in the Persic.

† Could access be obtained to such records of the Hindoos as are divested of that redundancy of fable with

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After the Babylonish monarchy, of which India is supposed to have formed a portion, was subdued by Persia, Darius Hystaspes, the king of Persia, conquered the western part of Hindostan, about the year 509 before the Christian era. The expedition of Alexander the Great, 327 years before Christ, increased the scanty knowledge which Europeans had hitherto possessed concerning India, although his military operations extended only to the modern province of Lahore and the countries on the banks of the Indus from Moultan to the sea.

On the death of Alexander, the eastern

which their priests have so copiously interwoven them, it would not be presumptuous to suppose, that we would discover they had been, in the more early ages of the world, one of the most enlightened and powerful nations that inhabited the earth.

The empire of the Hindoos, as related in many of their historical tracts, consisted of 56 separate principalities, ultimately governed by one prince, whose kingdom extended from the southern limits of Tartary to the island of Ceylon, and from the confines of Assam and Arracan, to the river Indus. This extensive space was inhabited by a people who were divided into four distinct tribes, each exercising different functions. It abounded in fair and opulent cities, which were decorated with magnificent temples for the worship of the gods, and with sumptuous mansions, gardens, and fountains, for the pleasure and the accommodation of the inhabitants. Useful and elegant artisans, skilled in raising stupendous buildings, in fabricating gold, silver and the most delicate cotton cloths, and in the curious workmanship of precious stones and metals, all found encouragement in the exercise of their professions.—*Forster.*

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part of his dominions devolved first on Pytho, and afterwards on Seleucus, the founder of the Syrian empire. Sandracottus, king of the Prasii, a powerful nation on the Ganges, threatening to attack the Macedonians whose Indian territories bordered on his dominions, Seleucus was induced to march an army into the country. He advanced much beyond the boundary of Alexander's progress in India, but stopped in his career in order to oppose Antigonus who was preparing to invade his dominions. Seleucus concluded a treaty with Sandracottus; in consequence of which that monarch retained the kingdom he had acquired. But the possessions of the Macedonians seem to have remained unimpaired during the reign of Seleucus. No historian has fixed the time or described the manner, in which the territories of the Syrian monarchs in India were wrested from them. It is probable they were obliged to abandon that country soon after the death of Seleucus.

But the Greeks in a smaller kingdom, composed of some fragments of Alexander's empire, still maintained an intercourse with India, and even made some considerable acquisition of territory there. This was the kingdom of Bactria, originally subject to Seleucus, but wrested from his son or grandson and rendered an independent state about sixty-nine years after the death of Alexander. It seems that its commerce with India was great, and that the conquests of the Bactrian kings in that country were more extensive than

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those of Alexander. We are informed by the historians of China, that about 126 years before the Christian era, a horde of Tartars, pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, and obliged to move toward the west by the pressure of a more numerous body that rolled on behind them, poured in upon Bactria, overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an end to the dominion of the Greeks there, after it had been established near 130 years.

From this time until the close of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, opened a new communication with the east and carried their victorious arms into every part of India, no European power acquired territory or established its dominion there. During this long period of more than sixteen hundred years, all schemes of conquest in India seem to have been totally relinquished, and nothing more was aimed at by any nation of Europe than to secure an intercourse of trade with that opulent country.

The history of Hindostan is involved in much obscurity until the invasion of that country by the muhammedans, in the year 1000. This invasion was conducted by Mahmud, Emperor of Ghizni,* who had made a vow that if ever he

* The empire of Ghizni was founded in the year of our era 960 by Abistagi, governor of Chorassan. Abistagi revolted from the King of Bucharia: whose ancestor, in his turn, had arisen to power on the ruins of the Caliphat empire,

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should be blessed with tranquillity in his own dominions, he would turn his arms against the idolaters of Hindostan. He was opposed by Jeipal, the Indian prince of Lahore, and an obstinate battle ensued, in which the emperor was victorious. Jeipal was taken prisoner, and round his neck were found sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at 180,000 rupees, (altogether about 320,000*l.* of our money). In the year 1008 Mahmud marched against the Hindoos of Nagracot, destroying their temples. There was in Nagracot a fort called Bimé, where the Hindoos had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols in all the neighbouring kingdoms; so that the emperor, when he took this fort, found in it seven hundred thousand golden dinars, seven hundred maunds* of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of pure gold in ingots, two thousand maunds of silver bullion, and twenty maunds of various jewels set. Mahmud retired with this immense treasure to Ghizni; but returned to Hindostan in 1011, and during this second invasion Tannasar, a place held in the same veneration by the Hindoos as Mecca by the muselmans, was destroyed, and Delhi taken.

about eighty seven years before. Ghizni consisted chiefly of the tract which composed the kingdom of Bactria, after the division of Alexander's empire: that is, the countries lying between Parthia and the Indus and south of the Oxus. Mahmud was the third in succession from Abistagi.

* The least maund is about 37 pounds avoirdupois.

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After a lapse of seven years Kinnoge was reduced, and the city of Muttra, or Matura soon shared the same fate. He intended to destroy the temples, but found that the labour exceeded his capacity. Some say that he was turned from his purpose by the admirable beauty of those edifices. It is said that Mahmud found in Muttra five great idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies, each of which eyes was worth 50,000 dinars. Upon another idol he found a sapphire, weighing four hundred miskal; and the image being melted, produced 98,300 miskals of pure gold. Besides these, there were above a hundred idols of silver, which loaded a hundred camels with bullion. In the year 1024, Mahmud conquered the province of Guzerat, demolishing the temple of Sumnat, which contained a greater quantity of jewels and gold than it is thought, any royal treasury ever contained before.

Mahmud died in 1028, master of the eastern and by much the largest part of Persia and nominally of the Indian provinces, from the western part of the Ganges to the peninsula of Guzerat; and also of the provinces between the Indus and the mountains of Agimere. It is worthy of remark that during these invasions the rajaputs of Agimere preserved their independence, which indeed they have not altogether lost even at this day.

Under a succession of warlike princes, the empire of Ghizni (or Gazna) rose to a surprising

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magnitude. In the reign of Musaood I. son of Mahmud, it extended from Ispahan to Bengal, and from the mouths of the Indus to the banks of the Jaxartes, which comprehends nearly one half of the great continent of Asia.

But in the year 1158 the Ghiznian empire was broken. The family of Gauridaso, from the province of Gaur beyond the Indian Caucasus, became possessed of the western and most considerable part. The parts contiguous to both sides of the Indus continued in the possession of Chusero or Cusroe, who fixed his residence at Lahore. In 1184, however, the Gaurides expelled the successors of Chusero from their dominions. In 1194, Muhammed Ghori invaded Hindostan, carried his arms as far as Benares*, and conquered the eastern part of Agimere and the country to the river Jumna, including the fortress of Gualior.†

* Muhammed Ghero perpetrated in the city of Benares the same crimes as Mahmud had before done at Nagracot and Sumnat. Benares was regarded as the principal university of Brahminical learning; and we may conclude (observes Major Rennell) that about this period, the Shanscrit language, which was before the current language of Hindostan, began to decline in its purity, by the admixture of words from that of the conqueror; until the language of Hindostan became what it now is: the oeiginal Shanscrit, preserved in their ancient writings, becoming a dead language.

† The fortress of Gualior then gave name to a kingdom which since has composed nearly the Soubah of Agra.

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After the death of this emperor, in 1205, the Ghiznian empire was again divided. The unambitious character of the surviving princes of the family of Ghor gave an opportunity to two of the imperial slaves to divide the empire which Muhammed had been at much pains to acquire. Eldoze retained possession of the Persian part, and Cuttub was already viceroy of the empire over the conquests in India. It was from Cuttub the muhammedan empire of the Patans or Afghans in India commenced, and Delhi became the capital city. The Afghans originally inhabited the mountainous country between India and Persia. In 1210 the emperor Altuumsh, who succeeded Cuttub to the Patan throne, completed the conquest of nearly the whole of Hindostan Proper.* He was the first muhammedan

* Hindostan has by the people of modern Europe been understood to mean the tract situated between the rivers Ganges and Indus, on the east and west; the Thibetian and Tartarian mountains on the north; and the sea on the south. But strictly speaking, the extent of Hindostan is much more circumscribed, and the name ought to be applied only to that part of the above tract, which lies to the north of the parallels of 21° or 22°. The Nirbidda river is, indeed, the reputed southern boundary of Hindostan, as far as it goes; and the southern frontiers of Bengal and Bahar compose the remainder of it. The countries on the south of this line go under the general name of Deccan, and comprise nearly one half of the tract generally known by the name of the Mogul Empire. But as the term Hindostan has been applied in a lax sense to this whole region, it may be necessary to distinguish the northern part of it by the

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who conquered Bengal. During his reign Jenghiz khan achieved the conquest of the other branch of the Ghiznian empire; but Hindostan was not molested at that time. In 1242 the Moguls, successors of Jenghiz, plundered the provinces on the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and returned to Ghizni. The situation of the country was not very dissimilar from what it had been before the invasion of the muhammedans: it included a great number of states tributary to the emperor, but scarcely to be considered as forming part of the same empire. Revolts were therefore very frequent. The kingdoms of Guzerat and Malava, which had been annexed to the empire by Cuttub, were permitted to shake off the yoke in 1265. The rajaputs likewise were constantly asserting their freedom; and dreadful massacres, rebellion and barbarous conquests make up the history of Hindostan almost to the period when the government fell into the hands of the English.

While the kings of Delhi were prosecuting their conquests in the east and south of Hindostan, the provinces on the west of the Indus were neglected, though not avowedly relinquished. It might have been expected, observes Major

name of Hindostan *proper*. This tract has indeed the Indus and the mountains of Thibet and Tartary for its western and northern boundaries; but the Ganges was improperly applied as an eastern boundary, as it intersects in its course some of the richest provinces of the empire.—*Rennell.*

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Rennell, that so excellent a barrier as the upper part of the Indus and the deserts beyond Agimere would have induced an emperor of Hindostan to give up, of choice, all the provinces that lay on the west of this line; and the neglect of so prudent a conduct occasioned the peace of the empire to be often disturbed, and ended in their being forcibly taken away at last by the Moguls; who, not contented with their new acquisitions on the west of the Indus, crossed that river and invaded the Penjab; and so formidable did they appear to Ferose II. that some tribes of them were permitted to settle in that country in the year 1292.

In 1293, this emperor determined to invade the Deccan.* The riches of Ramdeo, king of

* The Deccan at that time included all the territory lying to the south of the Nirbidda and Mahanada (or Cattack) rivers: an extent of dominion almost equal to all that Ferose already possessed in Hindostan; and which extended from the shores of the Indus, to the mouth of the Ganges; and from the northern mountains, to Cattack, Sirong and Agimere: the greatest part of Malava, with Guzerat and Sindi, being then independent.

Ferishta, in his history of the Deccan, informs us that its emperors of the Bahmincah dynasty (which commenced with Hassan Caco, A. D. 1347) appear to have exceeded in power and splendour, those of Delhi, even at the most flourishing periods of their history. Like other overgrown empires, it fell to pieces with its own weight; and out of were formed four potent kingdoms, under the names of Visiapour (properly Bejapour) Golconda, Berar, and Amednagur. Each of these subsisted with a considerable

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Deogire (now Dowlatabad), one of the principalities of the Deccan, gave birth to this project; and the projector was Alla, Ferose's nephew, governor of Kurrah, which nearly bordered on the devoted country.

Alla marched against Ramdeo, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings, and having taken Deogire, he concluded a treaty of peace with that prince upon the following almost incredible terms; that in consideration of evacuating the country Alla should receive six hundred maunds of pure gold,* seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and a long list of other precious commodities surpassing all belief.

Alla had thus the means of increasing the number of his adherents, and having murdered the emperor, his uncle, he assumed to himself the sovereignty of Hindostan. During his reign the Moguls frequently invaded the empire, but were repulsed with great slaughter. Alla subdued Guzerat, the Deccan, and many other provinces, and obliged the rajah of the Carnatic to become tributary to him.† He was a sanguinary prince.

degree of power until the Mogul conquest; and the two first preserved their independence until the time of Aureng-Zêbe.

* The maund of the Deccan is 25lb. avoirdupois.

† Ferishta, mentions that Capor, Alla's general, preented to the emperror as spoils from the Carnatic, three

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Many thousand Moguls, whom he took prisoners, were trodden to death by elephants; and the Mogul mercenaries in his army having incurred his displeasure, he ordered them to be all discharged. The greater number remained at Delhi in great distress, and some among them entered into a conspiracy to murder the king. This plot being discovered, Alla, instead of punishing the conspirators, extended his inhuman rigour to the whole body. He ordered them all to be instantly put to the sword; so that fifteen thousand of those unhappy wretches lay dead in the streets of Delhi in one day.

In 1316 Alla died. He was succeeded by some of his children, whose reigns, however, were short. The vengeance of heaven overtook and exterminated the race of that usurper, for his ingratitude to his uncle Ferose, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands.

In the commencement of the reign of Muhammed III. who ascended the throne in 1325,

hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety six thousand maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things. This treasure may appear to exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans; but if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people undisturbed perhaps by wars for thousands of years, and that it is the invariable custom of that race to live with the abstinence of hermits in the midst of wealth, our wonder will cease, and the credit of Ferishta remain unimpeached. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money.

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the Moguls invaded Hindostan. Having subdued Limghan, Moultan and the northern provinces, they advanced toward Delhi. Muhammed sued for peace; he sent an immense present in gold and jewels to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, upon receiving almost the price of the empire, to return to his own country, taking Guzerat and Sind in his way, which he plundered of a world of wealth.

Muhammed formed a resolution to subdue China, and a prodigious army was marched into that country; but the troops were struck with dismay upon seeing a formidable army prepared to oppose them, and scarcely a man came back to relate the particulars of their defeat. In the year 1343, Bellaldeo, the Prince of the Carnatic, was informed that the muhammedans had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos, and he acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He drove the muhammedans before him on all sides, and within a few months Muhammed had no possessions in the Deccan, except Dowlatabad. Many provinces were also lost by rebellions in Bengal, Guzerat and the Panjab.

Ferose III. succeeded Muhammed in 1350, and reigned nearly thirty-nine years. He built fifty great sluices, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, one hundred bridges and many other public works. After his death in 1388 the distracted state of the empire prepared it for foreign subjection; and a minority in the person of Mahmud

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III. who succeeded in 1393, brought matters to a crisis.

The empire of Persia continued under petty princes till Timour Bec, commonly called Tamerlane, mounted the throne of the kingdoms of Zagatay, which comprehended all Maver-ul-Nere or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zabulistan and others toward the Indus. After the conquest of the northern Tartary, he turned his arms against Persia, and entered Chorassan, seven years before the death of Ferose, the Patan emperor of Hindostan. He completed the conquest of Persia in less than five years, and when Ferose died, Timour was employed in the reduction of the provinces on the Euphrates.

In the year 1398, Timour set out on his expedition to India, and took Delhi, having then an army of near 100,000 horse. But finding a general conquest of India would be attended with much difficulty, he bent his thoughts on an expedition against the Turks, and three years and eight months after the taking of Delhi he retired from Hindostan.

The death of Mahmud, in 1413, put an end to the Patan dynasty. He was succeeded by Chizer, a Seid; that is, one of the race of the impostor Muhammed; and his posterity continued to fill the throne till the year 1450; when Belloli, an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, took possession of it, on the abdication of Alla II. At this time all Hindostan fell into separate governments. A con-

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siderable part of the empire, however, was recovered by the son of Belloli; who in 1501, fixed his residence at Agra.

During the reign of Ibrahim II. Sultan Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, made five expeditions into Hindostan. In the first four he was unsuccessful; but in the fifth, he on the first of May 1526, gave battle to Ibrahim, totally defeated him and put an end to the dynasty of Lodi.*

Baber, died on the 25th of December, 1530, near Agra. His son Humaioon was driven out of his country by the usurper Sher-Khan the Afghan, who was killed in 1545. After his death five sovereigns appeared in the space of nine years, but at length the throne was offered to Humaioon, who lived only one year after his restoration.

Acbar, though under fourteen years of age, succeeded his father Humaioon in 1555. He was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane, and the only sovereign of muhammedan race, whose mind ap-

* In the person of Baber, the line of Tamerlane first mounted the throne of Hindostan. The conquests of his ancestors, nearly a century and a half before, had no share in effecting the present settlement. Baber was in reality the founder of the Mogul dynasty, and from this event, Hindostan came to be called the Mogul Empire. Properly speaking, indeed, the Mogul Empire was that over which Tamerlane and his immediate successors reigned, and in which India was not included. Custom, however, has transferred the name to the empire held by the descendants of Tamerlane in Hindostan and the Deccan.—*Rennell.*

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pears to have risen so far above all the illiberal prejudices of that fanatical religion in which he was educated, as to be capable of forming a plan worthy of a monarch who loved his people and was solicitous to render them happy. As the Hindoos formed the great body of his subjects, he laboured to acquire a perfect knowledge of their religion, their sciences, their laws and institutions; in order that he might conduct every part of his government, particularly the administration of justice, in a manner as much accommodated as possible to their own ideas. In this generous undertaking he was seconded with zeal by his vizier Abul Fazel, a minister whose understanding was not less enlightened than that of his master.*

* Robertson.--That the Hindoos retained a grateful recollection of the mild and equitable government of Acbar, is evident from a letter of Jesswint-Singh, Rajah of Joudpore (whose name occurs so frequently in Bernier's narrative) to Aureng-Zêbe. "Your royal ancestor, Acbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness; whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or of Muhammed; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection which he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggot Grow, Guardian of Mankind. If your majesty places any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed, that

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This great prince had not been long seated on the throne, when he reduced the revolted provinces throughout his vast empire. In 1585 he resolved to invade the Deccan, and soon after carried the war into Berar, while another army effected the conquest of Kashmire. But at the time of Acbar's death, in 1605, no farther progress was made in the reduction of the Deccan and the adjoining countries than the taking possession of a part of Berar, Candeish, Tellingana (a division of Golconda) and the northern part of Amednagur.*

God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Muhammedans alone. The pagan and the muselman are equally in His presence. Distinctions of colours are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples to His name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images where the bell is shaken still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion and customs of other men is to set at nought the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, "Presume not to arraign or to scrutinize the various works of Divine Power."

Dr. Robertson was assured by a gentleman who had read this letter in the original, that the English translation (by Mr. Orme) is not only elegant but faithful.

* The Deccan at this period was divided into the kingdoms or states of Candeish, Amednagur (or Dowlatabad) Golconda and Visiapour. Berar and the Carnatic are not specified by the historian as members of the Deccan. The kingdoms which composed the Deccan were governed by muhammedan princes, although we are not in possession of any history of the conquests which transferred them from the Hindoos to the muhammedans.—*Rennell.*

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The great abilities of Acbar confirmed the house of Timour on the throne, and established tranquillity over all their vast conquests in India. Though the empire of the muhammedans in that country was not so extensive under Acbar as it had been under some princes of the Patan dynasty, it comprehended a vast tract, divided into twenty-two provinces,* each equal to some kingdoms in wealth, fertility and extent. A small part only of the Deccan or southern peninsula of India had been conquered; yet the dominions of the family of Timour, in their northern and southern frontiers, fell under the thirty-sixth and nineteenth parallels of latitude; and they extended themselves from east to west, about twenty-five degrees. The revenues, according to the imperial register, were thirty-two millions sterling received into the exchequer, exclusive of the customary presents, and the estates of the officers of the crown, which at their death reverted to the emperor and amounted, on an average to twenty millions more of our money. These sums were expended in maintaining an army of three hundred thousand horse and as many foot, in support of the splendor of the court, and in payment of the salaries of civil officers †.

On the death of Acbar, his son Selim as-

* Candahar, Ghizni, Cabul, Kashmire, Lahore, Moultân, Outch, Sindi, Agimere, Sirhind, Delhi, Duâb, Agra, Allahabad, Oud, Behâr, Bengal, Orissa, Malava, Berâr, Chandeish, Guzerat.

† Dow.

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ceded the throne in Agra, in the year 1605. He on his succession, assumed the title of Jehan-Guire, or Lord of the World, and reigned twenty-two years and ten months, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected from so weak a prince. Under him the conquest of the Deccan was but faintly pursued. The rebellions of the emperor's son, Shah-Jehan, embittered the latter part of his reign, and the influence of his favourite sultana, Noor-Jehân perplexed the councils of the nation. Her abilities were extraordinary; for she rendered herself absolute, in a government in which women are thought incapable of bearing any part.

In the year 1615, Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the court of Hindostan, arrived at Agimere, where Jehan-Guire then kept his court. Sir Thomas was received by the emperor with the utmost kindness. The presents made by the ambassador were agreeable to him; but a fine coach sent by King James pleased him most of all. In the month of January, 1615, a firmân was obtained for the establishment of an English factory at Surat.

Seven children were born to the emperor Jehan-Guire; five sons and two daughters. The sons were Chusero, Purvez, Churrum (afterwards Shah-Jehan), Jehandâr and Shariâr. Chusero, Purvez, and Jehandâr died before their father; Shariâr fell a victim to his brother's jealousy; and Shah-Jehan succeeded to the empire. The prince

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Chusero left his two sons, Dawir Buxsh and Gurshap, who were both murdered at the instance of Shah-Jehan. The children of Purvez were a son and a daughter: the first, by dying a natural death, prevented the dagger of Shah-Jehan from committing another murder; and the latter became the wife of Dara, the eldest son of Shah-Jehan. The two sons of Daniâl, Baiêsâr and Hoshung, had been confined during the reign of their uncle, Jehan-Guire. Strangers to the world, their nerves were relaxed by inactivity and their minds broken by adversity. This state of debility did not secure them from the jealousy of the new emperor, by whose command they were strangled at Lahore. Shah-Jehan, as was observed in a note, either by the dagger or bowstring dispatched all the males of the house of Timour; so that he himself and his children only remained of the posterity of Baber who conquered India.

It was in the year 1628 that Shah-Jehan mounted the throne of the Moguls; and, according the pompous manner of eastern provinces, assumed the title of The True Star of the Faith, The Second Lord of The Happy Conjunctions, Muhammed, The King of the World. He was born at Lahore on the 5th January, 1592, and on the day of his accession, he was thirty-six years old.

In this reign the Deccan was invaded by immense armies, and most of the princes of that country submitted to the Mogul. Golconda was partially conquered, but little or no impression

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was made by the arms of Shah-Jehan on the kingdom of Visiapour or on the Carnatic.

Casim, Governor of Bengal, having complained to the emperor that the Portuguese, who had established themselves at Hoogly on the Ganges had committed acts of violence upon the subjects of the empire, Shah-Jehan wrote to him in these laconic terms: "Expel the idolaters from my dominions." Casim appeared with an army before the Portuguese factory and carried the place by assault. These were the first hostilities against Europeans recorded in the histories of the east. The melancholy consequences of the capture of Hoogly are detailed by Bernier. According to Colonel Dow, three thousand Portuguese fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Though the power of Shah-Jehan had, in a great measure, terminated with the sickness, which, as we have seen in Bernier, rouzed his sons to arms, mounted the throne. He held the sceptre of India thirty solar years and five months; and when he was dethroned, he had attained the sixty-seventh year of his age. The means by which Shah-Jehân obtained the empire of the Moguls, were no more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aureng-Zêbe. He rebelled against his father, and he sacrificed his relations.

In 1658 the civil wars, detailed by our traveller, commenced; and in 1660 Aureng-Zêbe was in possession of the throne. From that period until the year 1678 profound peace pre-

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vailed in Hindostan. In the latter part of his reign he conquered the Deccan, to which Major Rennell supposes he was incited by the resolution and growing power of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta state; and who, in that character, appeared almost as a rival to Aureng-Zêbe himself.* The emperor's persecutions of

* The derivation of the word Mahratta, is from Marhat, the name of a province in the Deccan. Sevajee, who plays so important a part in the drama before us, may be considered as the founder of the Mahratta empire. His grandfather is supposed to have been an illegitimate son of a Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajaput princes. Having, after the death of his father (the Rana of Oudipour) suffered some indignities from his brothers, on account of his birth, he retired to the Deccan and entered into the service of the King of Visiapour, who conferred upon him a distinguished rank in his army. In this rank he was succeeded by his son: but his grandson Sevajee, who was born in 1628, embraced an opportunity, which the distractions existing in the Visiapour monarchy afforded him, of becoming independent. So rapid was the progress of his conquests that he was grown formidable to the armies of the Mogul empire before Aureng-Zêbe's accession to power. At his death, in 1680, his domains extended from the northern part of Baglana, near Surat, to the neighbourhood of the Portuguese settlement of Goa, along the sea coast; but probably not inland; for Aureng-Zêbe's armies kept the field in Visiapour at that period. His son Sambajee was treacherously seized on and cruelly put to death by Aureng-Zêbe in 1689. The Mahrattas continued, however, to increase in power. Sahoojee succeeded his father Sambajee and reigned more than fifty years. The confusions occasioned by the disputed succession among Aureng-Zêbe's children and their descendants opened a wide field to this

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the Hindoos stirred up the Rajaput tribes in Agimere, and he would have been taken prisoner, had not the enemy thought proper to allow him to escape. In 1681 he again attacked the Rajaputs, and destroyed Cheitore, the famous capital of the Rana, and every where demolished the Hindoo temples; but he was obliged to abandon his enterprise, and the Rajaputs preserved their independence. After the tenth year of Aureng-Zêbe's reign, we know very little of his transactions, as he would not allow any history of them to be written. He died in 1707, in the 90th. year of his age, leaving four sons; Mauzum, afterwards emperor, under the title of Bahader-Shah; Azem, Kambukhsh, and Acbar, who had fled to Persia thirty years before, on account of a rebellion in which he was engaged against his father.*

hardy and enterprising people, at the time of Sahoojee's death, in 1740, the Mahratta state had swallowed up the whole tract from the western sea to Orisa; and from Agra to the Carnatic.

* Aureng-Zêbe left a will; of which for the satisfaction of the curious, I shall give a translation. It is extracted from a work (The History of Nadir-Shah) published by Mr. James Fraser, in the year 1742.

"I came empy-handed into the world, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate children shall chance to rule the empire, let him not molest Muhammed Kambukhsh,* should he rest contented with the two new Soubahs.†

* Muhammed Kambukhsh, Aureng-Zêbe's youngest son.

† The two new Soubahs are Visiapour and Heyderabad, so called as being lately conquered by Aureng-Zêbe.

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The seeds which produced the decay of the Mogul Empire, and which in our day have ripened into such malignancy, took a deep root during the reign of Aureng-Zêbe; who though one of the most sagacious princes of the house of Timour, endangered the welfare of the state and the security of his subjects by an injudicious impulse of domestic affection. He portioned among his sons the most valuable provinces of the empire; where acquiring an influence and

"There cannot be a better vizier than Emir-al-Omrah.

"Let all the king's servants be true and faithful to Muhammed-Azem-Shah.*

"Whoever shall chance to have the empire, let him not hurt or molest those born or bred up in my house.

"If the division I formerly made proves agreeable to my children, it will prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed.

"There are two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi: whoever settles in Agra may have the province thereof, Deccan Malava, and Guzerat: and who resides at Delhi may have Cabul and the other provinces.

"I came naked into the world, and naked I go out of it. Let no ensigns or royal pomp accompany my funeral. Let Hamid odin Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my corpse to the place of Shah Zen al din and make a tomb for it in the same manner as is done for dervises. Let not my fortunate children give themselves any concern about a monument.

"There is in my private treasury 57,382 rupees: let one thousand rupees be distributed among the poor at my funeral."

* Another son of Aureng-Zêbe.

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strength that cannot be held by an Asiatic subject with safety to the monarch, they expected with impatience the event that was to determine their schemes and pretensions. On the death of Aureng-Zêbe, the sons eagerly took up arms, and after deluging the country with blood, the war was successfully terminated by Bahader-Shah, who may be said to have mounted the throne from a mound of fraternal and kindred slaughter. Not being endowed with the genius of his father, the governors of provinces relaxed in their allegiance during his short reign of five years. The Mahrattas, whom Aureng-Zêbe had nearly subdued, descended at his death from their mountains, and rapidly recovered the territories from which they had been expelled. Previously to the Persian invasion in the year 1738, the subadars of Oude and the Deccan, having virtually erected their chiefships into independent states, commanded without the control of the court large armies. The empire thus enfeebled, invited Nadir Shah to conquest and plunder. The river Attock, the natural western barrier of India, on whose bank Muhammed-Shah, the then emperor, should have stood in person, was crossed by the Persians without opposition; and this inglorious prince surrendered to them, without drawing his sword, the wealth and dominions of Hindostan. A subsequent train of diversified ruin, moving with a rapidity not paralleled in the history of nations,

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has now left scarcely a vestige of the Mogul Empire.*

Under Aureng-Zêbe's reign, the empire attained its full measure of extent. His authority reached from the 10th to the 25th degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude; and his revenue exceeded thirty two-millions of pounds sterling, in a country where the products of the earth are about four times as cheap as in England.†

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EMPERORS WHO HAVE REIGNED IN HINDOSTAN, SINCE THE GHIZNIAN CONQUEST.

GHIZNIAN EMPERORS.

	Began his reign, A.D.
Mahmud I.	1000
Muhammed II. } Musaood I. }	1028
Modood	1041
Musaood II. } Ali }	1051
Reschid } Feroch-Zaad }	1052
Ibrahim I.	1056
Musaood III.	1098
Arsilla	1115
Byram I.	1118
Chusero I.	1152
Chusero II.	1159

GHORIAN, OR GAURIAN EMPEROR.

Muhammed II. or Muhamned Ghori	1184

* Forster. † Rennell.

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PATAN, OR AFGHAN EMPERORS.

	Began his reign, A.D.
Cuttub	1205
Eldoze Aram Altuumsh	1210
Ferose I,	1235
Sultana Rizia, Empress	1236
Byram II.	1239
Musaood IV.	1242
Mahmud II.	1245
Balin	1265
Keikobad	1286
Ferose II.	1289
Alla I.	1295
Omar	1316
Mubarick I.	1317
Tuglick	1321
Muhammed III.	1325
Ferose III.	1351
Tuglick II.	1388
Muhammed IV. Abu-Bicker	1389
* Mahmood III.	1393

DYNASTY OF THE SEIDS.

Chizer	1414
Mubarick II.	1421
Muhammed V.	1433
Alla II.	1447

DYNASTY OF LODI.

Belloli.	1450

* Tamerlane's invasion happened in this reign.

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	Begun his reign, A.D.
Secunder I.	1488
Ibrahim II.	1516

MOGUL EMPERORS.

Baber	1525
Humaioon	1530

SECOND PATAN DYNASTY.

Shere	1542
Selim	1545
Muhammed VI. / Ibrahim III.	1552

MOGUL DYNASTY RESTORED.

Humaioon	1554
Acbar	1555
Jehan Guire	1605
Shah Jehan	1628
Aureng-Zêbe, or Allumguire I.	1659
Bahader Shah	1707
Jehaunder Shah	1712
Feroksere	1713
Ruffieh-ul-Dirjat / Ruffieh-ul-Dowlah	1717
Muhammed Shah	1718
Ahmed Shah	1748
Allumguire II.	1753
Shah Aulum	1760

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NOTES.

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THE notes A, B, C, D, and E, are extracted from the third volume of Colonel Dow's work upon Hindostan. There is some discrepancy between him and our author in their respective accounts of the transactions to which these notes refer. The colonel says that he derived the greatest part of his facts from Eastern writers; but it is difficult to conceive that he can have consulted any who was more intelligent and faithful than Bernier, or who possessed easier opportunities of ascertaining the accuracy of his statements.

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NOTES.

NOTE A.

DARA had not long remained behind his lines, when the princes, on the first of June (1658) appeared on the opposite bank of the Chunbul. Aureng-Zêbe's army consisted not of 40,000 men, and they were fatigued with the length of their march. But there was no time to be lost: Solimân was approaching fast to support his father's cause. No hopes presented themselves to Aureng-Zêbe. To retreat was ruin: to advance destruction. He was lost in suspense. Morâd was for forcing the lines; but a letter from Shaista, who was third in command in the imperial army, broke off that measure by presenting a better to the brothers. This treacherous lord informed Aureng-Zêbe, that to attempt the lines would be folly, and that the only means left him was to leave his camp standing to amuse Dara, and to march through the hills by a bye-road, which two chiefs, who were directed to attend him in the evening, would point out. The princes closed with the proposal. The guides joined them in the evening and they decamped with the greatest silence, leaving their

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tents, luggage, and artillery under a strong guard, who were to amuse the enemy. The army moved about thirty miles that night; and the next day they were discovered by the scouts of Dara in full march toward Agra. Dara decamped from his lines with precipitation, leaving the greater part of his cannon behind him. By a forced march he pushed between the enemy and the capital, and on the fourth of June he presented himself before the rebels. On the morning of the fifth, the prince ordered the army to be formed in order of battle. Rustum-khan, an experienced general from Tartary, marshalled the field. The artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery stood a number of camels, mounted with small swivels, which the riders of each camel, without alighting, could charge and discharge with ease. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines; and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows together with sabres. One third of the cavalry formed the reserve behind the lines. Dara placed himself in the centre, mounted on a lofty elephant, from which he could command a view of the field. The treacherous Shaista took the command of the right wing; and that of the left was destined by Dara for Rustum. That officer, who was acknowledged the most experienced commander in Hindostan, was actually at the head of the army. He

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bore the commission of captain general, and all orders were issued by him. He represented to Dara, before the action commenced, that he intended to place himself at the head of the reserve in the rear, where he might direct the movements of the field, and issue out his orders as the circumstances of affairs might require: "My post" said Dara "is in the front of battle; and I expect that all my friends shall partake of my danger, if they wish to share the glory which I hope to obtain." The generous and intrepid spirit of Rustum was offended at this reflection. He answered with a stern countenance and determined tone of voice: "The front of battle has been always my post, though I never contended for an empire; and if I wished to change it today, it was from an anxiety for the fortune of Dara." The prince was struck with the impropriety of his own conduct. He endeavoured to persuade Rustum to remain at the head of the reserve; but he went beyond hearing, and placed himself in the front of the left wing.

Aureng-Zêbe, on the other hand, having marshalled his army into order of battle, requested of Morâd to take the command of the centre. He committed the left wing to his son Mahommed, and he placed himself on the right, Morâd was astonished, and pleased at the ease with which Aureng-Zêbe assigned to him the post of honor. But the crafty prince had two reasons for his conduct. Morâd was haughty: he had

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assumed the imperial titles, and though, out of a pretended complaisance to his father, he had laid them down, he looked forward with undeviating ardour to the throne. It was not the business of Aureng-Zêbe to offend him at this critical juncture. But his reason was equally prudent. Rustum commanded the left wing of the enemy; and he was the most renowned general of the times. He had passed many years in the service of the Tartars and Persians, being bred up to the field from his youth, in which he had always eminently distinguished himself. He had been present in one hundred general actions; he was habituated to danger, and perfect master of his own mind in the most desperate situations Aureng-Zêbe therefore could not trust the experience of Rustum, against the conduct of any but his own.

Both lines began now to move from wing to, wing; and the artillery opened on both sides. Rustum advanced, on the left, with a hasty pace directing the march of his troops by the motion of his sword. Aureng-Zêbe ordered a part of his artillery to point toward Rustum; and that general received a cannon-ball in his breast, when he had advanced within five yards of the enemy. The whole wing stopt at the fall of Rustum: but Sittersal, one of the chiefs of the rajaputs, at the head of five thousand horse, fell in, sword in hand, with Aureng-Zêbe. Mahommed, who commanded under the prince, opposed the rajaputs

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with great bravery. A sharp conflict ensued; and the rajaputs began to file off, when their leader engaged personally with Mahommed. The rajaputs strove to cover their chief, but in vain; he was cut down by the sabre of Mahommed. The whole wing fell into disorder but did not fly; and a promiscuous slaughter covered the field with dead.

Dara, mounted on his elephant, in the meantime advanced with the centre. He was observed by his army to look over all the line, and they gathered courage from his intrepid demeanor. A part of the enemy's artillery was opposed to the very point where Dara advanced. A heavy fire was kept up, and his squadron fell into a kind of disorder; but when he waved his hand for them to advance, they resumed their ranks and followed him with ardour. Before he could come to blows with the enemy, a second volley occasioned a second disorder. He however stood upon his elephant, and, without any change of countenance, called out with a loud voice to advance with speed. He himself, in the meantime fell in with the first line of Morâd. He rushed through with his elephant, and opened a way for his horse, who, pressing into the heart of the enemy, commenced a great slaughter. The whole centre under Morâd was broken, and the prince himself was covered with wounds. He endeavoured to lead his troops again to the charge, but they were deaf to his commands. He ordered

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his elephant to be driven among the thickest of the enemy; being determined to fall with his fortune, or, by a brave example, to re-animate his flying troops with hopes of recovering the day. His boldness was attended with success. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror and poured around him. Arib Dass, an Indian chief, thrice strove to reach Morâd with his sword; but did not succeed, on account of the height of the elephant. He however, cut the pillars which supported the roof of the amari or castle, which falling upon the prince, incumbered him in such a manner, that he could not defend himself. He however disengaged himself, and dealt death with his arrows on every side. In the meantime, Mahommed, the son of Aureng-Zêbe, was sent by his father's orders from the left to the assistance of Morâd. He came up when the prince was in the greatest danger. Fresh spirit was given to the troops of Morâd, and Dara received a check.

The battle now raged with redoubled fury. The elephant of Morâd, rendered outrageous by wounds, rushed forward through the column of the enemy. Mahommed, ashamed of being left behind, followed him with great ardour. Dara did not retreat. He gave his orders with apparent composure. But a cannon-ball having killed his foster brother, who sat with him on the elephant, he was almost blinded with the blood.

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A rocket, at the same time, passing by his ear, singed his turban; a second followed, and having struck in the front of the amari, burst, and broke it all to pieces. His colour was seen then to change. The lord who drove the elephant observed an alteration in the prince; and, whether through personal fear, or for the safety of his master, is uncertain, retreated a few paces, Dara reprimanded him with severity; but the mischief was already done. His squadrons saw the retreat of the prince; and their spirit flagged. He however ordered the driver to turn his elephant toward the enemy, but that lord represented to him, that now, being marked out by the rebels, it were better for him to mount his horse, and pursue the fugitives, for that now very few remained on the field. He alighted; but there was no horse to be found. He fought for some time on foot. At length he mounted a horse whose rider had been killed.

Almost the whole of both armies had now left the field. Not a thousand men remained with Dara, and scarce one hundred horse with Anreng-Zêbe and Morâd. The latter however fought with increasing ardour. His young son, of about eight years of age, sat with him upon the elephant. Him he covered with his shield, and dealt his arrows around on the enemy. Aureng-Zêbe, having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying squadrons, advanced with fifty horsemen to the assistance of Morâd, hoping

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more for an honourable death than for a victory. It was at the very instant that he came to blows with the imperialists, that the unfortunate Dara dismounted from his elephant. The squadrons who had still adhered to that prince, seeing the elephant retreating with the imperial standard, thought that Dara had been killed. The cause for which they fought, in their opinion, no longer existed. They betook themselves to flight, and when Dara had mounted his horse, he found the field bare of all his troops. He fled with precipitation, and the rebel princes found themselves at the head of only two hundred horsemen, in possession of an unexpected victory.—*Dow.*

NOTE B.

The day after Morâd's arrival at the camp near Muttra, he invited his brother to an entertainment. Aureng-Zêbe, who never had suspected the open temper of Morâd, accepted of the invitation. When the brothers sat at dinner, Nazir-Shabâs, high steward of the household, who was in the secret, entered suddenly, and whispered in Morâd's ear, that now was the time to make a rent in a magnificent dress. Aureng-Zêbe, whose eye could trace the thoughts in the features of the face, was alarmed at this

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mysterious whispering, as well as at the affected gaiety of his brother. He remained silent, and Morâd dispatched Shabâs, with only desiring him to wait the signal. Aureng-Zêbe was now convinced that there was a design against his life. He complained suddenly of a violent pain in his bowels; and, rising under a pretence of retiring, joined his guards, and returned to his own quarter of the camp.

"Morâd ascribed his brother's departure to his illness, and entertained no idea that he had the least suspicion of his own intentions. In three days he recovered of the pretended pain in his bowels. He received his brother's congratulations with every mark of esteem and affection; and the day after, he sent him an invitation to come to his tent to see some beautiful women whom he had collected for his amusement. Their performances in singing, in dancing and in playing upon various instruments of music, were, he said, beyond any thing ever seen in Hindostan. He enlarged upon their grace, their beauty and the elegant symmetry of their limbs. The mind of Morâd, who was naturally a great lover of pleasure, was inflamed at the description; and contrary to the advice of all his friends, he went to his brother's quarter. On the arrival of the emperor, as Aureng-Zêbe affected to call his brother, he was received by the young ladies in an inner tent. They were handsome beyond description,

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and the voluptuous prince was struck with a pleasing astonishment at their charms.

"An elegant entertainment was in the meantime served up to the sound of vocal and instrumental music. Morâd was elevated and called for wine of Schiraz. The ladies sat round him in a circle, and Aureng-Zêbe, throwing off his usual austerity, began to partake of the wine. Morâd in a short time became intoxicated, and his brother, instead of wine, imposed upon him bumpers of arrack. He at length fell asleep on a sopha, in the arms of one of the ladies. Aureng-Zêbe had given orders to some of his officers, to entertain the lords who attended Morâd in the same voluptuous manner. Even his body-guard were intoxicated with wine, so that the unfortunate prince was left without defence.

"Aureng-Zêbe gave orders to Ziffer-Jung and three other lords, to enter the tent and bind his brother. The lady retired upon their coming, and they advanced to the sopha on which he lay. His sword and dagger had been already removed by the care of Aureng-Zêbe; and they began softly to bind his hands. Morâd started up at this operation, and began to deal around his blows. The lords were terrified, and the prince began to call aloud for his sword. Aureng-Zêbe, who stood at the door of the tent, thrust his head from behind the curtain, and said with a menacing voice, 'He has no choice but death or

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submission; despatch him if he resists.' Morâd hearing the voice of his brother, began to upbraid him and submitted to his fate. Nazir-Shabâs, his principal friend and adviser, was at the same instant seized. He had been sitting under a canopy before the pay-master general's tent, and at a signal given, the ropes of the four poles were at once cut, and before he could extricate himself, he was bound. The other lords who were attached to the prince, being surrounded with armed men, were brought before Aureng-Zêbe to whom they swore allegiance. A murmur ran through the camp; but it was an ineffectual sound; and the army, as if but half wakened from a dream, fell fast asleep again.

"The night was not far advanced, when Morâd was seized and bound. Before day-light appeared, he and his favourite were mounted on an elephant, in a covered amari or castle, and sent off under an escort to Agra.—*Dow.*

NOTE C.

"The prince Mahommed,* who in conjunction with Jumla, commanded the imperial army, had, before the civil war, conceived a passion for one of the daughters of Sujah. Overtures of marriage

* Mahmud is called by Colonel Dow, Mahommed.

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had been made and accepted; but the consummation of the nuptials had been broken off by the troubles which disturbed the times. He seemed even to have forgot his betrothed wife in his activity in the field; but the princess moved by the misfortunes of her father, wrote with her own hand a very moving letter to Mahommed. She lamented her unhappy fate, in seeing the prince whom she loved, armed against her father. She expressed her passion and unfortunate condition in terms which found their way to his heart. His former affections were rekindled in all their fury, and, in the elevation of his mind, he resolved to desert his father's cause.

"The visier, upon affairs of some importance, was in the mean time at some distance from the army which lay at Raja-Mâhil. The opportunity was favourable for the late adopted scheme of Mahommed. He opened the affair to some of his friends: he complained of his father's coldness and even of his ingratitude to a son, to whom, as having seized the person of Shah-Jehân, he owed the empire. He gave many instances of his own services, many of the unjust returns made by Aureng-Zêbe, and concluded by declaring his fixed resolution to join Sujah. They endeavoured to dissuade him from so rash an action; but he had taken his resolution, and he would listen to no argument. He asked them, whether they would follow his fortunes? they replied, 'We are the servants of Mahommed, and if the prince

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will tonight join Sujah, he is so much beloved by the army, that the whole will go over to him by the dawn of day.' On these vague assurances, the prince quitted the camp that evening with a small retinue. He embarked in a boat on the Ganges, and the troops thought that he had only gone on a party of pleasure.

"Some of the pretended friends of Mahommed wrote letters, containing an account of the desertion of the prince, to the visier. Tumult, commotion and disorder reigned every where when the visier entered the camp; but his appearance soon silenced the storm, and the troops desired to be led to the enemy. Accordingly, Jumla passed the Ganges with his whole army. Mahommed, in the meantime, was received with every mark of respect by Sujah. The nuptials were celebrated with magnificence and pomp; and the festivity was scarcely over, when news arrived of the approach of the imperial army. Sujah immediately issued out with all his forces from Tanda, and waited for the enemy.

"Mahommed behaved with his usual bravery; but the effeminate natives of Bengal fled, and he was carried along with their flight. The utmost efforts of Sujah proved also ineffectual. His troops gave way on all sides. A great slaughter was made in the pursuit, and Tanda opened her gates to the conqueror. The princes fled to Dacca; but Jumla, remaining for some time in Tanda to settle the affairs of the now almost conquered

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province, gave them some respite, which they employed in levying a new army.

"The news of the flight of Mahommed arriving in the mean time at Delhi, Aureng-Zêbe concluded that the whole army in Bengal had gone over to Sujah. He immediately marched with a great force, and took the route of Bengal. He, however, had not advanced far, when intelligence of the success of his arms met him, and he forthwith returned to the capital. He there had recourse to his usual policy, and wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to one received; and he contrived matters so, that it should be intercepted by Sujah. That prince, having perused the letter, placed it in the hands of Mahommed, who swore that he had never once written to his father since the battle of Kidgwâ. Aureng-Zêbe's letter concluded in terms like these: 'As you seem to repent of your folly, I forget your crimes. You have called the name of God to vouch for your sincerity, and my parental affection returns. You have already my forgiveness; but the execution of what you propose is the only means to regain my favour.'

"The letter made an impression on the mind of Sujah, which all the protestations of Mahommed could not remove. He told him, in the presence of his council, that after all the struggles of affection with suspicion, the latter had prevailed; and that, instead of a son and a friend, he beheld him in the light of an enemy; 'It is

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therefore necessary for the peace of both,' continued Sujah, 'that Mahommed should depart. Let him take away his wife, with all the wealth and jewels which belong to her rank. The treasures of Sujah are open, he may take whatever he pleases. Go.—Aureng-Zêbe should thank me for sending away his son, before he has committed a crime.'

"Mahommed felt the injustice of the reproach. He knew the stern rigour of his father, who never trusted any man twice. The prospect was gloomy on either side. Distrust and misery were with Sujah, and a prison was the least punishment to be expected from Aureng-Zêbe. He took leave of his father-in-law. That prince presented his daughter with jewels, plate, and money to a great amount, and the unfortunate pair pursued their journey to the camp of Jumla.

"Having approached within a few miles of the imperialists, he sent to announce his arrival. The visier hastened to receive him with all the honours due to his rank. Jumla, the very next day, received a packet from court, which contained orders to send Mahommed, should he fall into his hands, under a strong escort to Delhi. When he arrived at Agra he was confined in the citadel, whence he was soon after sent to Gualior, where he remained a prisoner to his death."—*Dow.*

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NOTE D.

Colonel Dow says that Aureng-Zêbe formed his line on the 23rd of March, 1659. "He began," says that writer, "to fortify himself under the enemy's fire, and continued the work the whole night, and covered his men before day-light appeared, notwithstanding his brother had sallied thrice during that time. The sun was scarce risen, when Debere, and some other nobles, issued out of the camp, and advanced on full speed with five thousand horse near the lines, hoping, by insulting him, to draw Dara from his lines; but the artillery of the enemy, being well served, obliged the assailants to retreat in disorder. Things remained in this doubtful situation for several days. The army of Dara, having the country in their rear open, were in no want of provisions; and it was impossible, without a long siege, to overcome their almost impregnable lines.

"A petty Indian prince, however, informed himself of a steep path, by which men might ascend the mountain on the right of Dara's line. When night came on, he marched with his troops, and having ascended the mountain, the appointed signal was ready to be shewn by the dawn of day.

"Aureng-Zêbe never rested his hopes upon the success of a single scheme. He had, during

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the night, planned the ruin of his brother's affairs, by a more fatal stroke of policy than the stratagem of the rajah. Debere-Khan, and the Indian prince, Joy-Singh, had, at the beginning of the war, adhered with warmth to the interests of Dara; but they deserted the colours of Solimân, and ruined all the hopes which Dara derived from the army under his son. Aureng-Zêbe now prevailed upon these chiefs to write an insidious letter to Dara, which finished with these words: 'When day-light shall appear, let the gate of the camp be open to receive us, that we may have an opportunity of regaining, by our merit, the favour of which we have been deprived by necessity. As soon as the sun shall arise, we look for admittance into the camp, with all our followers and friends.'

"Shaw-Nawâz, in vain, remonstrated to Dara in the strongest terms, that there was danger in confiding in their sincerity. He was determined to risk all on the faith of men who had a few months before betrayed his son.

"Aureng-Zêbe, who was no stranger to the character of Dara, foresaw that his stratagem would succeed. He drew up his army before day behind his own camp, being covered by the tents from the enemy's view. The sun was not yet up, when he ordered Debere to issue forth from his right and Joy-Singh from his left and to advance on full speed toward the camp. These officers accordingly rushed forth; and Aureng-Zêbe, to carry on the deceit, began to fire with

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his artillery, but with powder only, on the pretended deserters. Debere, who first advanced, gave the signal of attack, and a dreadful slaughter commenced. Debere hewed on his way to the gate which Shaw-Nawâz was endeavouring to shut; but the thing was now impracticable, from the numbers that crowded into the camp. Debere entered, sword in hand, and Shaw-Nawâz advanced to oppose him. Debere desired him to surrender, and to fear nothing from his son-in-law. 'No! Debere-khan;—I have hitherto defended my life by my valour; nor shall I purchase a few years of decrepid age at the expence of my former fame.' Debere, at the word, ran him through with his spear. With Shaw-Nawâz the courage of Dara's army fell. The treacherous Debere was now within the camp, with his squadron, who, fired with the example of their leader, made a prodigious slaughter. Joy-Singh followed close on their heels.

"Aureng-Zêbe in the mean time advanced with his whole line, and the party who had gained the summit of the mountain in the night, shewed themselves above the camp. The hills re-echoed to their shouts; and they began to roll stones and loosened rocks into the valley. An universal panic spread over all. Dara mounted his elephant to be seen by his army. He rushed forward to meet the enemy, but he was left alone. The safety of his women came then across

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his mind; he hastened with them from the field, while the spoils of his camp kept the enemy from pursuing his flight. Four thousand fell on the side of Dara in this extraordinary action, Aureng-Zêbe lost not above two hundred."

NOTE E.

Colonel Dow thus describes the conduct of the rajah (or king) of Arracan to Sultan Sujah and family. "Threatening letters from Jumla raised terrors in the mind of the rajah, and a sudden coolness to Sujah appeared in his behaviour. The wealth of his unfortunate guest became also an object for his avarice. He sent a message to Sujah requiring him to depart from his dominions, and the impossibility of the thing was not admitted as an excuse. The monsoons raged on the coast; the hills behind were impassable. Sujah sent his son to request a respite for a few days, with which he was indulged.

"Of 1500 adherents with whom the prince quitted Bengal, only forty remained. The Sultana, the mother of his children, had been for some time dead: his second wife, three daughters, and two sons composed his family. The few days granted by the rajah were now expired. A message came from him, demanding in marriage the daughter of Sujah. 'Go, tell your master,'

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said the prince, 'that the race of Timour, though unfortunate, will never submit to dishonour. But why does he search for a cause of dispute? His inhumanity and averice are too obvious to be covered by any pretence.'

"The rajah was highly offended at the haughtiness of the answer of Sujah. But the people pitied the fugitive, and the prince durst not openly do an act of flagrant injustice. To assassinate him in private was impossible, from the vigilance of his forty friends. A public pretence must be made to gain the wealth of Sujah. The report of a conspiracy against the rajah was spread abroad. It was affirmed that Sujah had formed a design to mount the throne of Arracan, by assassinating its monarch.

"The rajah, in a pretended terror, called suddenly together his council. He unfolded to them the circumstances of the conspiracy, and he asked their advice. They were of opinion, that Sujah and his followers should be sent away from the country. The rajah was disappointed; he had hoped that death should be the punishment of projected murder. But the natural hospitality of the nobles of Arracan prevailed over his views. He, however, under the sanction of the determination of his council, resolved to execute his own designs. The prince, with his family and his forty friends, were apprised of his intentions. They were encamped on a narrow plain which lay between a precipice and a river which, issuing

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from Arracan, falls into the country of Pegu. At either end of the plain a pass was formed between the rock and the river. Sujah, with twenty of his men, possessed himself of one, and his son with the rest, stood in the other in arms. They saw the rajah's troops advancing. The women remained in their tent, in dreadful suspence; till roused by the clashing of arms, they rushed forth with dishevelled hair. The men behaved with wonderful courage, and twice repulsed the enemy, who, afraid of their swords, galled them with arrows. The greatest part of the friends of Sujah were at length either slain or wounded. He himself still stood undaunted, and defended the pass against the troops of Arracan. The officer who commanded the party, sent some of his soldiers to the top of the precipice, to roll down stones on the prince and his gallant friends. One fell on the shoulder of Sujah; and he sank down, being stunned with the pain. The enemy rushed forward, disarmed and bound him.

"He was hurried into a canoe which lay ready on the river. Two of his friends threw themselves into it as they were pushing it away from the bank. The wife and the daughters of Sujah, threw themselves headlong into the river. They were, however, brought ashore, and carried away, together with the son of Sujah, who was wounded, to the rajah's palace. The prince, sad and desolate, beheld their distress; and, in his sorrow, heeded not his own approaching fate. They had

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now rowed to the middle of the stream; but his eyes were turned toward the shore. The rowers, according to their instructions, drew a large plug from the bottom of the canoe, and throwing themselves into the river, were taken up by another canoe which had followed them for that purpose. The canoe was instantly filled with water. The prince and his two friends betook themselves to swimming. They followed the other canoe; but she hastened to the shore. The river was broad; and at last, worn out with fatigue, Sujah resigned himself to death.

"Piâra Bani, the favourite, the only wife of Sujah, was so famed for her wit and beauty, that many songs in her praise are still sung in Bengal. When the rajah came to wait upon her in the haram, she attempted to stab him with a dagger which she had concealed. She, however, was disarmed; and perceiving that she was destined for the arms of the murderer of her lord, she disfigured her beautiful face with her own hands; and at last found with sad difficulty a cruel death, by dashing her head against a stone. The three daughters of Sujah still remained; two of them found means by poison to put an end to their grief. The third was married to the rajah; but she did not long survive what she reckoned an indelible disgrace on the family of Timour. The son of Sujah, who had defended himself to the last, was at length overpowered, by means of stones rolled down upon him from the rock. He

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was carried to the rajah; and soon after, with his infant brother, fell a victim, by a cruel death, to the jealousy of that prince.

"No prince was ever more beloved than Sujah; he never did a cruel action during his life. Misfortune, and even death itself, could not deprive him of all his friends; and though his fate was not known in Hindostan for some years after his death, when it was heard, it filled every eye with tears."

NOTE F.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST, MAY BE USEFUL TO SOME READERS OF THIS VOLUME.

In the reign of John II. an intelligent prince, who first declared Lisbon a free port, and under whose auspices a new method was adopted of applying astronomy to navigation, the Portuguese doubled the Cape, which is at the extremity of Africa. It was then called the Cape of Storms; but the prince, who foresaw that it would open a passage to India, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

Emanuel pursued the plan marked out by his predecessor. On the 18th July. 1497, he sent out a fleet consisting of four ships, and gave the command of it to Vasco de Gama. This admiral

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having attempted seas before unknown, landed at length in Hindostan, after a voyage of thirteen months. Hindostan was, at the arrival of the Portuguese, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Bisnagar, Narzingua and Calicut, each of which reckoned several sovereigns among their tributaries. The last of these monarchs, who is better known by the title of Zamorin, which answers to that of emperor, than by the name of his capital city, possessed the most maritime states, and his empire extended over all the Malabar.

Gama, informed that Calicut was the port in which commerce was the most flourishing, took a pilot to conduct him thither. In Calicut he met with a Moor of Tunis, who understood the Portuguese language, and had conceived an attachment for that people. He procured Gama an audience of Zamorin, who proposed an alliance, and a treaty of commerce with the king his master. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the muselmans found means to excite suspicions against a rival power, whose courage and activity they dreaded. The reports they made to him of the ambition of the Portuguese, made such an impression on the mind of the prince, that he resolved to destroy those adventurers to whom he had just before given so favourable a reception; but he did not dare to carry his design into execution, and the admiral was allowed to return in safety to his fleet.

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It is impossible to describe the joy that prevailed at Lisbon on his return. The inhabitants beheld themselves on the point of establishing the richest commerce in the world; and the papal court which omitted no opportunity of confirming the opinion of its supreme authority upon earth, gave to the Portuguese all the coasts they should discover in the east.

Thirteen vessels that sailed from the Tagus, under the command of Alvares Cabral, arrived at Calicut, and restored some of the Zamorin's subjects, whom Gama had carried away with him. These Indians spoke in the most favourable terms of the treatment they had received; but it was a long time before the Zamorin was reconciled to the Portuguese: the Moorish party prevailed, and the people of Calicut, seduced by their intrigues, massacred fifty of the adventurers. Cabral in revenge burnt all the Arabian vessels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then sailed first to Cochin and afterwards to Cananor.

The kings of both these towns gave him spices, offered him gold and silver, and proposed an alliance with him against the Zamorin, to whom they were tributary. The kings of Onor and Culan, and several other princes, made the same overtures; flattering themselves that they should all be relieved from the tribute they paid to the Zamorin, and that they should extend the frontiers of their dominions. This general infatuation procured to the Portuguese so great an ascendant

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over the whole country of Malabar, that wherever they appeared they gave the law. No sovereign was suffered to enter into an alliance with them, unless he would acknowledge himself dependent on the court of Lisbon, permit a citadel to be built in his capital, and sell his merchandise at the price fixed by the buyer. The foreign merchant was obliged to wait till the Portuguese had completed their lading, and no person was suffered to navigate these seas without producing passports from them. The wars in which they were unavoidably engaged, gave little interruption to their trade: with a small number of men they defeated numerous armies; and, in a short time, the ships of the Moors, of the Zamorin and of his dependents, no longer dared to make their appearance.

Alphonso Albuquerque, the new viceroy, found it necessary that Portugal should have a settlement which might easily be defended, where there was a good harbour and a wholesome air, and where the Portuguese might refresh themselves after the fatigues of their passage from Europe. With this view he cast his eyes upon Goa, which he foresaw would be an important acquisition to Lisbon.

Though not so considerable at that time as it has been since, Goa was looked upon as the most advantageous post in India. It belonged to the king of the Deccan; but Idalcan, who was intrusted with the government of it, had assumed

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an independency, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this usurper was pursuing his schemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the gates of Goa and took the city by storm.

Idalcan returned towards Goa, and the Portuguese having no firm footing there, retreated to their ships; but the Indian being obliged to take the field again to preserve his dominions from absolute destruction, Albuquerque made a sudden attack upon Goa, which he carried by storm, and fortified himself in the place. As the harbour of Calicut was good for nothing, all its trade and riches were transferred to this city, which became the metropolis of all the Portuguese settlements in India.

After the power of the Portuguese had been finally established in the Arabian and Persian Gulphs and on the Malabar coast, they thought of extending their conquests into the eastern parts of Asia.

The island of Ceylon first presented itself to Albuquerque. It should seem that it was the interest of the Portuguese to place all their strength in this island. Its harbours were the best in India; it lies in the centre of the East, and is the passage that leads to the richest countries. It might have been well peopled and fortified with a small number of men; while the numerous squadrons that might have been sent out from every port in the island would have kept all Asia in awe.

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The viceroy overlooked these advantages. He also neglected the coast of Coromandel which furnished the finest cottons in the world, and which is admirably situated for the trade of Bengal and other countries.

Notwithstanding this, Albuquerque made no settlement there. The settlements of St. Thomas and Negapatan were not formed till afterward. He thought that when the Portuguese had made themselves masters of Ceylon, a conquest begun by his predecessor D'Almeyda and afterwards completed, they might command the trade of Coromandel, if they got possession of Malacca. He therefore determined to make the attempt.

The country of which Malacca is the capital is a narrow tract of land, about a hundred leagues in length. It joins to the continent towards the northern coast, where it borders on the state of Siam. The rest is surrounded by the sea.

The situation of Malacca had made it the most considerable market in India, and the Portuguese were desirous of having a share in the general commerce of Asia. At first they appeared at Malacca in the character of merchants: but their usurpations in India had rendered their designs so much suspected, that measures were taken to destroy them. Several of them were massacred, and others were thrown into prison.

Though Albuquerque did not intend to wait for a rupture to afford him a pretence of seizing upon Malacca, yet this incident gave his enter-

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prise an appearance of justice. The enemy expected a sudden blow; and accordingly, when he appeared before this place, in the beginning of the year 1511, he found every thing in readiness to receive him. The place was attacked and carried after several doubtful and bloody engagements. The Portuguese found in it immense treasure and vast magazines. A fort was erected to secure the conquest, and Albuquerque contented himself with the possession of the city.

After the reduction of Malacca, the kings of Siam and Pegu, and several others, alarmed at a conquest so fatal to their independence, sent ambassadors to congratulate Albuquerque, to make him an offer of their trade, and to desire an alliance with Portugal.

Affairs being in this situation, a squadron was detached from the fleet to the Moluccas. The inhabitants of this cluster of islands had lived for ages upon the meal of the sago and the milk of the cocoa, when the Chinese, landing there by accident, discovered the clove and the nutmeg. They were soon admired all over India, whence they were conveyed to Persia and Europe. The Arabians, who at that time engrossed almost all the trade of the universe, did not overlook so lucrative a part of it. They repaired in crowds to these celebrated islands; and they had already monopolized the productions of them when the Portuguese, who pursued them every where, came and deprived them of this branch

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of trade. From this time the court of Lisbon ranked the Moluccas among the number of its provinces, and it was not long before they really became so.

Albuquerque died at Goa in the year 1515, was succeeded by Lopez Soarez, who pursued his designs of aggrandisement. He was for some time employed in preventing the opposition with which the Portuguese were threatened in India; and as soon as he was relieved from this anxiety, he resolved to attempt a passage to China.

The Chinese nation was unknown in Europe. Marco Paolo, a Venetian, who had travelled to China by land, had given a description of it which was looked upon as fabulous. It corresponded, however, with the particulars since transmitted by Albuquerque, who had met with Chinese ships and merchants at Malacca, from whom he procured a particular account of that extensive empire.

In the year 1518, a squadron sailed from Lisbon to convoy an ambassador to China. As soon as it arrived at the islands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was surrounded by Chinese vessels. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, suffered the Chinese to come on board; communicated the object of his voyage, and sent on shore his ambassador, Thomas Perez, who was conducted to Pekin.

Perez found the court disposed to favour his nation, the fame of which had spread itself

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throughout Asia. It had already attracted the esteem of the Chinese, which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada tended to increase. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to the Portuguese; Thomas Perez was just about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coasts with a fresh squadron. This commander treated the Chinese in the same manner as the Portuguese had for some time treated all the people of Asia. He built a fort without permission in the island of Taman, whence he pillaged and extorted money from all the ships bound from or to the ports of China. He seized upon the Chinese, made slaves of them, and gave himself up to the most licentious acts of piracy. The Chinese enraged at these outrages fitted out a large fleet; but the Portuguese escaped. The emperor imprisoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portuguese nation was banished from China for some years. After this, the Chinese gave permission to the Portuguese to trade at the port of Jancian.

A pirate whose successes had made him powerful, had seized upon the Island of Macao, whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded so far as to lay siege to Canton. The mandarins had recourse to the Portuguese; who hastened to the relief of Canton, raised the siege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate.

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The emperor of China bestowed Macao on them as a mark of his gratitude, They built a town which became very flourishing, and was advantageously situated for the trade they soon after entered into with Japan.

In the year 1542, a Portuguese vessel was driven by a storm on the coasts of these celebrated islands. The crew were well received, and obtained of the natives every thing they wanted to refit them for the sea. When they arrived at Goa, they reported what they had seen, and informed the viceroy, that a new country, no less rich than populous, presented itself to the industry of the merchants. Both missionaries and merchants embarked without delay for Japan, and found a great empire, which is, perhaps, the most ancient of any in the world, except that of China.

The Portuguese were received with joy. All the ports were opened to them. All the petty princes of the country invited them to their provinces, each contending who should give them the most valuable advantages and grant them the greatest privileges. These merchants established a prodigious trade. The Portuguese carried thither the commodities of India; and Macao served as a repository for their European goods. Immense quantities of the productions of Europe and Asia were consumed by the sovereign, the nobles and the whole nation. But what had they to give in return?

The country of Japan is in general moun-

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tainous, stony and by no means fertile. The empire affords no productions proper for exportation, and were it not for its mines of gold, silver and copper, which are the richest perhaps in the world, Japan could not support its own expence. The Portuguese every year carried off quantities of these metals to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds sterling. They married also the richest of the Japanese heiresses, and allied themselves to the most powerful families.

With such advantages the Portuguese might have been satisfied. They were masters of the coast of Guinea, Arabia, Persia and the two peninsulas of India. They were possessed of the Moluccas, Ceylon and the isles of Sunda, while their settlement at Macao insured to them the commerce of China and Japan.

Throughout this immense tract the will of the Portuguese was the supreme law. No nation dared to make voyages without their permission. A number of articles, by which so many nations have since enriched themselves, were entirely engrossed by the Portuguese. In consequence of this monopoly, the prices of the produce and manufactures both in Europe and Asia were regulated at their pleasure.

Nor had the Portuguese neglected that part of Africa which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea. The Arabians had been settled there for several ages, and had formed along the coast of Zanguebar several small in-

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dependent sovereignties. The flourishing state of these settlements was owing to the mines of gold and silver found within their respective territories. Allured by this treasure, the Portuguese attacked the Arabians, who were subdued about the year 1508. Upon their ruin was established an empire, extended from Sofala as far as Melinda, of which the island of Mosambique was made the centre.

These successes, properly improved might have formed a power so considerable, that it could not have been shaken; but the vices and folly of some of their chiefs, the abuses of riches and of power, the distance of their own country changed the character of the Portuguese. They made no scruple of pillaging and enslaving the idolaters. Being absolute masters of the Eastern seas, they extorted a tribute from the ships of every country; they ravaged the coasts, insulted the princes, and became in a short time the terror and scourge of all nations.

From the era when Portugal was gradually reduced under the dominion of Philip the Second, the Portuguese in India ceased to consider themselves as of the same country. Some made themselves independent; others turned pirates, and paid no respect to any flag. Many entered into the service of the princes of the country, and almost all these became ministers or generals, so great were the advantages this nation still maintained over those of India. The

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Portuguese possessions in India were divided into three governments, which gave no assistance to each other and even clashed in their projects and interests; neither discipline, subordination, nor the love of glory animated either the soldiers or the officers. Manners became more and more depraved, and the Portuguese had lost all their former greatness, when the Dutch appeared in India and contended with them for the empire of that country.

NOTE G.

"ALI MURDAN KHAN has left behind him many monuments of liberality and taste; the grandest, though now in ruins, is seen in the vicinity of Delhi, and displays at once a design, useful and magnificent.

"During the splendid era of Delhi, the inhabitants who resided at a distance from the Jumna, which skirted only one of its angles, experienced much difficulty in procuring river water, that of the wells not being esteemed so salubrious. Ali Murdan, desirous of relieving this common grievance, surveyed the land to the westward, and saw that a sluice, opened from the Jumna, where that river approaches Karnal, would from the declivity of the ground, introduce water into the

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back part of the city and conduct it through all the quarters. The design was put into execution, and to reward his success and preserve the work in good condition, Ali Murdan was vested with the privilege of levying a certain tax on those houses which enjoyed the uses of the canal. Water was conveyed by this branch of the Jumna, forming a distance of more than one hundred miles, and afforded a commodious supply to all the inhabitants; nor did the canal fall into decay until the period of the Persian and Afghan invasions. Ali Murdan, who in his taste and disposition would not have disgraced the Roman Lucullus, bestowed on the public numerous edifices and gardens; one of which, thickly shaded with cypress trees, stands in the environs of Peshour, and another at Nimlah, a small village lying about eighty miles to the south-east of Cabul. This omrah erected in the centre of the city of Cabul, four spacious bazaars or market places in a line, which consist of a range of apartments on each side of two floors, the lower appropriated to merchants, and that above to private use, The intermediate space between the ranges, is covered by an arched roof, and each bazaar is separated by an open square, which was supplied with fountains, but now choked with filth or occupied by the meanest order of mechanics."—*Forster*.

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NOTE H.

I subjoin a few extracts from Dr. Claudius Buchanan's Journal during his tour to the Temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, in the year 1806.

"Budderick, May 30, 1806.

"We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. We have been joined by perhaps 2000 pilgrims, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some say that they have been two months on their march, travelling in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road; and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain by the river, near the pilgrim's caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls.

"I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut by the length of his body, as a penance of merit to please the God."

"Juggernaut, 14th June, 1806.

"I have seen Juggernaut. No record of history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death: it may be truly compared with

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the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Juggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named; for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely, Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister: for there are three deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

"——— This morning I viewed the Temple; a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of 'the horrid king.' As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut, has representations (numerous and varied) of that vice which constitutes the essence of his worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems in massive and durable sculpture.—I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; and another place a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually cast forth; and where dogs and vultures are ever seen. I reside at the house of James Hunter, Esq. the company's collector of the tax on pilgrims and superintendant of the temple. His house is on the sea shore, about a mile or more from the temple. He cannot live nearer, on account of the effluvia of the

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town. For, independently of the enormity of the superstition, there are other circumstances which render Juggernaut noisome in an extreme degree. The senses are assailed by the squalid and ghastly appearance of the famished pilgrims; many of whom die in the streets of want or of disease; while the devotees, with clotted hair and painted flesh, are seen practising their various austerities, and modes of self-torture. Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town, in public view; and the SACRED BULLS walk about among them and eat the ordure."

"Juggernaut, 18 June, 1806.

"—— I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised such as I had never heard before. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned towards the place, and behold, a *grove* advancing. A body of men, having green branches or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped.

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stu-

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pendous car or tower about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Thousands of men, women and children pulled by each cable, crowding so closely that some could only use one hand. Infants are made to exert their strength in this office, for it is accounted a merit of righteousness to move the god. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. I was told that there were about 120 persons upon the car. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour.—Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons and having bells hanging to their caparisons.

"I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch; which, as it was drawn with difficulty, grated on its many wheels harsh thunder. After a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began.—A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol and pronounced his obscene stanzas. 'These songs,' said he, 'are the delight of the god. His car can move only when he is pleased with the song.'—

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The car moved on a little way and then stopped. A boy of twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture that the god was pleased, and the multitude, emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along.—After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former. Now comes the blood.

"After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the God. He is said to smile when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed."

"Juggernaut, 20th June, 1806.

"——The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol.

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She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the place of skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones."

"Juggernaut, 21st June, 1806.

"The idolatrous processions continue, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away. I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the place of skulls;—a woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said, they had no home but where their mother was.—O, there is no pity at Juggernaut!

"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of the numbers at particular festivals, usually say that a lack of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed. 'How can I tell,' said he, 'how many grains there are in a handful of sand?'"

The English nation will not expect to hear that the blood of Juggernaut is known at Calcutta; but alas, it is shed at the very doors of the

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English, almost under the eye of the supreme government. Moloch has many a tower in the province of Bengal; that fair and fertile province, which has been called 'The Garden of Nations.' Close to Ishera, a beautiful villa, on the river's side, about eight miles from Calcutta, once the residence of governor Hastings, and within view of the present Governor-General's country house, there is a temple of this idol which is often stained with human blood. At the festival of the Rut Jattra, in May, 1807, Dr. Buchanan visited it. One of the victims of that year was a well-made young man, of healthy appearance and comely aspect. He had a garland of flowers round his neck, and his long black hair was dishevelled. He danced for a while before the idol, singing in an enthusiastic strain, and then rushing suddenly to the wheels, he shed his blood under the tower of obscenity. The doctor was not on the spot at the time, his attention having been engaged by a more pleasing scene.

On the other side, on a rising ground by the side of a tank, stood the Christian missionaries, and around them a crowd of people listening to their preaching. The town of Serampore, where the Protestant missionaries reside, is only about a mile and a half from this temple of Juggernaut.

Doctor Buchanan sat down on an elevated spot to contemplate this scene,—the tower of blood and impurity on the one hand, and the

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Christian preachers on the other. How is so great and glorious a ministry applauded by the holy angels, who 'have joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth;' and how far does it transcend the work of the warrior or statesman, in charity, utility and lasting fame!" The pious doctor could not help wishing that the representatives of the church of Christ in our own country had been present to witness the scene, that they might have seen how practicable it is to offer Christian instruction to our Hindoo subjects.

NOTE I.

"THE city of Benares, for its wealth, costly buildings and the number of its inhabitants, is classed in the first of those now remaining in the possession of the Hindoos. There are numerous temples at Benares dedicated to the almost innumerable deities of the Hindoos; and this city is the chief repository of the science yet existing among them. At the distance of eight miles from the city of Benares, as it is approached on the river from the eastward, the eye is attracted by the view of two lofty minarets which were erected by Aureng-Zêbe on the foundation of an ancient Hindoo temple dedicated to the Mhah Deve. The construction on this sacred ruin of so towering a muhammedan

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pile, which from its elevated height seems to look down with triumph on the fallen state of a city so profoundly revered by the Hindoos, would appear to have been prompted to the mind of Aureng-Zêbe by an intemperate desire of insulting their religion. If such were his wish, it has been completely fulfilled. For the Hindoos consider this monument as the disgraceful record of a foreign yoke, proclaiming to every stranger that their favourite city has been debased and the worship of their gods defiled. From the top of the minarets is seen the entire prospect of Benares, which occupies a space of about two miles and an half along the northern bank of the Ganges and generally a mile in-land from the river. Many of the houses, which are remarkably high, some of them having six and seven floors, are built of stone, resembling that species found in the quarries of Portland and which abounds in this part of the country. But the streets where these lofty buildings stand are so narrow as not to admit of two common carriages abreast. In addition to the pernicious effect which must proceed from a confined atmosphere, there is in the hot season an intolerable stench arising from the many pieces of stagnated water dispersed in different quarters of the town, whose waters and borders are appropriated to the necessary uses of the inhabitants. The filth also, which is indiscriminately thrown into the streets and there left exposed (for the Hindoos possess but a small

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portion of cleanliness) adds to the compound of ill smells. The irregular and compressed manner, which has been invariably adopted in forming the streets of Benares, has destroyed the effect which symmetry and arrangement would have otherwise bestowed on a city, intitled from its valuable buildings to a preference of any capital which I have seen in India."—*Forster.*

NOTE K.

Mr. Halhed gives the following account of the four æras of Indian chronology.

"1. The Suttee Jogue, or age of purity, is said to have lasted three million two hundred thousand years; and the Hindoos hold that the life of man was in that age extended to one hundred thousand years, and that his stature was twenty-one cubits.

2. Tirtāh Jogue, or age in which one-third of mankind were reprobate, they suppose consisted of two millions four hundred thousand years; and that men then lived to the age of ten thousand years.

3. The Dwāpaār Jogue, in which half of the human race became depraved, endured one million six hundred thousand years; and men's lives were reduced to one thousand years.

4. The Collee Jogue, in which all mankind

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are corrupted, or rather lessened, for that is the true meaning of Collee, is the present æra, which they suppose ordained to subsist for four hundred thousand years, of which near five thousand are already past; and man's life in this period is limited to one hundred years."

There can be no doubt that the information which we have hitherto received concerning the chronology of the Hindoos is very incorrect. We have, according to Dr. Robertson, only five original accounts of the different jogues or æras of the Hindoos. The first is given by M. Roger, who received it from the brahmins on the Coromandel coast. According to this account, the Suttee Jogue is a period of one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years; the Tirtāh Jogue is one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand years; the Dwāpāār Jogue is eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years. The duration of the Collee Jogue he does not specify. The next original account is that of our author, M. Bernier, who received it from the brahmins of Benares. According to him, the duration of the Suttee Jogue was two millions five hundred thousand years; that of the Tirtāh Jogue one million two hundred thousand years; that of the Dwāpāār Jogue was eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years. Concerning the period of the Collee Jogue Bernier gives no information. The third original account is that of Colonel Dow, according to which the Suttee Jogue was a period of fourteen

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millions of years; the Tirtāh Jogue one million and eighty thousand years; the Dwapaār Jogue seventy-two thousand; and the Collee Jogue thirty-six thousand years. The fourth account is that of M. Le Gentil, who received it from the brahmins of the Coromandel coast; and as his information was acquired in the same part of India and derived from the same source with that of M. Roger, it agrees with his in every particular. The fifth account is that of Mr. Halhed. From this discrepancy, not only of the total numbers but of many of the articles in the different accounts, it is manifest, as is observed by Dr. Robertson, that our information concerning Indian chronology is hitherto as uncertain as the whole system of it is wild and fabulous.

THE END.

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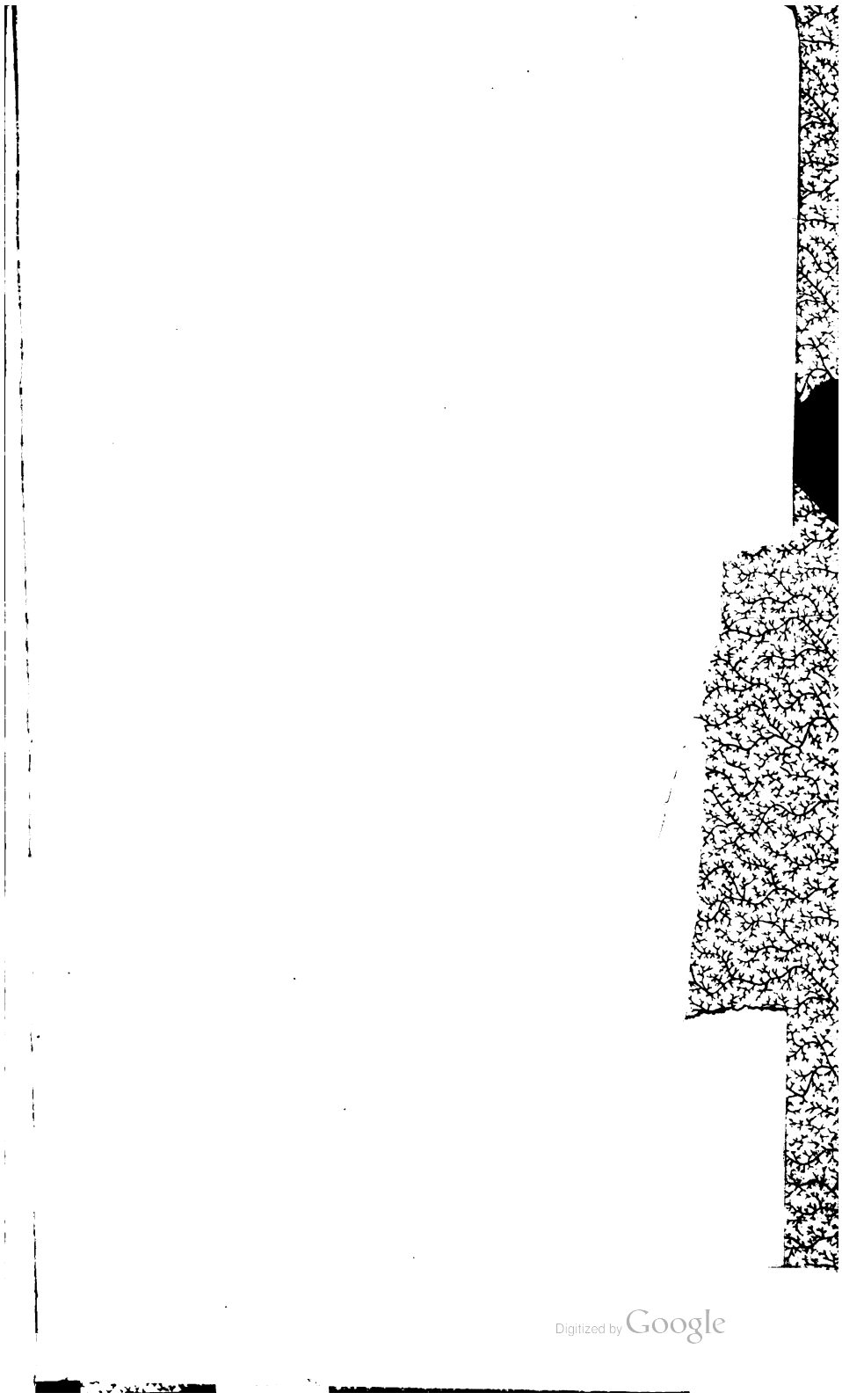
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